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ON
KRIT EDUCATION

Mahes Raj Pant

ON
SANSKRIT EDUCATION

Mahes Raj Pant

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TO ALL THOSE WHO ARE STRIVING
FOR THE CAUSE OF SANSKRIT.

PREFACE

It was a sultry day of early June in 1978 when I first conceived the idea of writing an essay on Sanskrit education which could clearly represent my personal views on a legacy of our ancestors. Accordingly, I began to write this essay on June 15, finishing it in late September. I wrote it during my few off-duty hours, usually in the evening. Though I handed over the manuscript to the press in early October, it took almost six months to print it.

In this essay, wherever the context is historical, I have frequently used the word 'India' and its derivatives to denote that part of Asia where Sanskrit culture exists or existed. My enlightened readers must be aware that South Asian Studies–including studies covering the areas of Central Asia and Tibet as well as Southeast Asia– are traditionally called Indology or Indic Studies after the name of the subcontinent. Therefore, I expect my readers to understand that the word has nothing to do with the modern political demarcation of India or Bharat.

Since I have tried to tell the story with the utmost honesty and accuracy of which I am capable, I have criticized institutions and individuals, sometimes perhaps rather severely. But I am sure that nothing that I have written bears a trace of malice or ill–will against any institution or individual.

Though the press tried its best to make the printing as flawless as possible, it could not provide appropriate diacritical marks. So diacritical marks are ignored either partially or totally in this book. I should apologize to my readers for this shortcoming, which by no means can be ignored in this kind of publication. It is unfortunate that some misprints and other blemishes have crept into the work in spite of my best efforts to avoid them. For these, I crave the indulgence of the readers.

My most sincere thanks are due to several persons who have helped me in this task in one way or the other. I express my deep gratitude to Ms. CHARLOTTE HARDMAN and Mr. GANESH RAJ PANDEY, who were kind enough to go over the greater portion of the essay and to offer several suggestions to improve it. Mr. PANDEY nad also helped a lot in reading proofs which was by no means a lighter task. I also owe a great deal to Prof. Dr. ALBRECHT WEZLER, who patiently read through the first two chapters of the essay and made valuable comments, in addition to supplying some important information. I am much beholden to Prof. Dr. MICHAEL HAHN and Mr. DINESH RAJ PANT, who helped me in this book in various ways. I am thankful also to Messrs JUNG BAHADUR THAPA and GOPAL MAN SINGH for having typed and retyped the manuscript, as well as to Mr. AISHVARYA DHAR SHARMA for his help in arranging my index cards alphabetically and for making a copy of the same. My special thanks are also due to the staff of the Lusha Press who printed it finely. My acknowledgements are also due to Messrs BISHNU RAJ JHA, RAMESHCHANDRA BANDHU BHATTA-

RAI, UPENDRA GAUTAM, NIR MAN NEWA, RAMJI TEVARI, RAJENDRA PRASAD MAINALI, GURUSHEKHAR RAJOPADHYAYA, THAKURLAL MANANDHAR, GYAN BAHADUR KALIKOTE, PRAKASH RAJ PANDEY, SHREEKRISHNA SHRESTHA and ALANKAR BHATTARAI, who helped me in various capacities in writing and publishing it. I must also thank to *The Rising Nepal* for having published a larger part of the fourth chapter of this essay stressing the necessity of Sanskrit education in the present day Nepal.

I would now like to stress that the individuals and institutions mentioned above should not be held responsible in any way for the views expressed in the book and that the opinions and conclusions referred to in it are entirely my own. Needless to say, whatever shortcomings the reader may come across in the book can be most legitimately laid at the doors of the author.

Needless to say, while writing this kind of essay it is necessary to consult various books. Though most of the books which I have used for this essay are in my own collection, I have also used the books from public and private collections available to me in Kathmandu. Of the libraries whose collections have been eminently useful for this essay, I should mention Nepal National Library (formerly Bharatibhavana of the late Rajguru HEMRAJ SHARMA), Kaiser Library, Madan Puraskar Pustakalaya, Indian Library, American Library and the libraries of the Valmiki Campus, Nepal Research Centre and

Samshodhana Mandala. The private collections which I have used for this purpose include those of Hon'ble SARVAJNA RAJ PANDIT, Prof. Dr. ALBRECHT WEZLER, Prof. Dr. MICHAEL HAHN, Mr. DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA and Mr. SHIVAHARI MARAHATTA. I offer my heartfelt thanks to the authorities of those libraries and those scholars who gave me access to their respective collections.

Kathmandu
March 29, 1979 Mahes Raj Pant
Samvatsara Pratipada

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ON SANSKRIT EDUCATION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It has long been universally accepted that Sanskrit is one of the oldest languages of the world preserved in writing. Perhaps it is one of the most remarkable facts in the literary history of the world that Sanskrit is still spoken by the learned and that many books — both popular and scholarly — are still produced in the ancient language, although it has ceased to be spoken by the masses for some two thousand years. It may be worthwhile to note that several research journals, popular magazines and even newspapers, including a daily — undoubtedly all of modern invention — are being published in the antique language. It is also to be noted that *All India Radio* and *Deutsche Welle* — the Voice of Germany — regularly broadcast programmes in Sanskrit, produced by those countries which are undoubtedly the strongholds of Sanskrit learning in the East and in the West respectively. It may be useful to add that all the sacraments from birth to death and all the religious rites and festivals of so-called "Hindus" are conducted through the medium of this ancient language. This is also true of a section of the Mahāyāna Buddhists, which has been an undeniable factor in the preservation of the voluminious Mahāyāna literature.

Let me now add a few facts to illustrate what role Sanskrit has played as a vehicle for Indian culture for more than three millennia. Sanskrit has been the medium of Indian thinking, whether "orthodox" or "heterodox". All types of Indian sciences as well as the best of Indian *belles-lettres* are preserved in this language. It may be interesting to note that although BUDDHA preferred his own tongue to Sanskrit for preaching Buddhism because Māgadhī was widely understood by the masses in his days, the sermons were ultimately rendered into Sanskrit by the Buddhist scholars in order to make them more accessible to a large public. It is worth mentioning that even KĀLIDĀSA, the most accomplished poet and dramatist of Sanskrit, most probably used a different language in his everyday life. Most of the voluminous literature of classical Sanskrit, which undoubtedly surpasses Vedic literature in quantity, is not the product of those who spoke Sanskrit as their own mother tongue, but of those who learnt it labouriously, devoting to it the best of the formative years of their life.

The discovery of Sanskrit by European scholars in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which was the foundation of the science of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages, ultimately became instrumental in developing the whole science of linguistics. Since then Sanskrit has been an essential tool for historical linguists of wider horizon.

From the facts given above, it should be quite clear that the study of Sanskrit is not only an indispensable means for understanding the long tradition of Indian culture but also for unravelling the mystery of the development of the Indo - European languages.

Moreover, Sanskrit learning has undeniably been connected with the everyday life of millions of people living in this part of the world, through the " exact sciences " available in Sanskrit. For instance, even in this age when Western medical science has made tremendous progress in the treatment of diseases which were once considered incurable, a large section of people are benefitting from the traditional method of curing diseases, known as Ā*yurveda*, which has developed in no way for several hundreds of years, and is now in a state similar to some other sciences which ALBERUNI, an eleventh century Arab scholar, describes as "nothing but the scanty remains of bygone better times."[1]

As is well known, there are two quite

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1. EDWARD C. SACHAU, trans. *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, 1st Indian reprint (Delhi : S. Chand & Co. , 1964), p. 152.

different methods of teaching Sanskrit: one being the traditional and the other the Western. The former method is used in Pāṭhaśālā-s — the institutions meant to teach exclusively the various *śāstra*-s or sciences of Sanskrit literature. The latter method is employed in modern universities where Sanskrit is taught as one of the classical languages. The traditional method is mainly to be found in India and Nepal, whereas the Western approach is used all over the world, including those two countries.

In the eyes of thinkers, the two methods follow completely different paths and in many ways contradict each other. It is true that a few highly enlightened scholars, contemplating pros and cons of both the methods, have suggested a synthesis of the two that would not deny the merits of either. Moreover, it must be said that some institutions have succeeded in implementing such an approach, though on a limited scale, and have produced scholars of a more syncretic kind.

Firstly, I should like to make it clear

that in this essay I am dealing with Sanskrit learning in the present context of Nepal, and that I suggest a synthesis of the best of both the methods mentioned above, and propose the means by which the maximum possible advantage can be taken from this learning in this age. Since the topic which I am going to discuss here is rather complicated, in order to make it clearly comprehensible, I have arranged my discussion, elaboration and illustrations in different thematic divisions.

Nevertheless, I should like to make it clear that the essay presented here is neither a piece of research nor an article with high–flown ideas. It is, in fact, nothing more than the embodiment of ideas that have been hauting an obscure Sanskritist, now in his mid–thirties, for more than a decade and a half.

ON THE TRADITIONAL METHOD

Let me start the discussion with the traditional method of learning Sanskrit which has been handed down to us for more than three millennia. We know for a fact that the method lays unusual stress on learning by heart. I think that what MACDONELL almost eight decades ago remarked about the method of learning the Vedas, which is unchanged through the ages, is worth quoting here: "The Vedas are still learnt by heart as they were long before the invasion of Alexander, and could even now be restored from the lips of religious teachers if every manuscript or printed copy of them were destroyed."[2] Perhaps I should mention that any scholar who recited a text with the help of a book, and not from memory, was categorized in the ideal traditional method, as one of the six kinds of the worst reciters.[3] It may be interesting to note that the use of a book by a student was regarded, from standpoint of extremists, as one of the six hindrances to learning, these also including gambling and women.[4] Traditional scholars, in principle, only trust the learning which is at the tip of the tongue. They compare learning which depends on consulting books with that kind of wealth which is under the control of someone other than the real owner[5]. It should be noted that "the highest ambition of an author of even the 12th century A. D. was not that his work may adorn the shelves of the libraries of the learned, but that it may shine as an ornament on their neck, i. e. it should be memorised by them".[6] Even now, when traditional scholar-

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[2] ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 2nd Indian ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, hereinafter to be cited as MACDONELL), p. 6.

[3] *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā*, 32:

गीती शीघ्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च [illegible]डेते पाठकाधमाः ॥

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4. NĀRADA in *Smṛticandrikā*, *Saṃskārakāṇḍa*:
द्यूतं पुस्तकशुश्रूषा नाटकासक्तिरेव च ।
स्त्रियस्तन्द्री च निद्रा च विद्याविघ्नकराणि षट् ॥
5. पुस्तकस्था तु या विद्या परहस्तंगतं धनम् ।
कार्यकाले समायाते न सा विद्या न तद् धनम् ॥
6. A. S. ALTEKAR, *Education in Ancient India*, 3rd ed., (Benares : Nand Kishor & Bros., 1948, hereinafter to be cited as

ship is in a deplorable state, we can find thousands of Sanskritists who know a few thousand aphorisms and verses by heart.

Learning by rote is, of course, time–consuming and yet at the same time it is rigorous. Now you can question the necessity of learning by heart in this age, since printed books on every subject are easily available and can be thoroughly consulted whenever needed. But to understand why learning by heart has played and is still playing an important role in Sanskrit education you should first know about the development of the method.

The ancients of India showed great devotion to knowledge, accumulated through hundreds of years, by preserving a voluminous collection of ten thousand hymns, known as

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ALTEKAR), pp. 160–161.

Vikramāṅkadevacarita by BILHAṆA, XVIII. 102 :

तेन प्रीत्या विरचितमिदं काव्यमव्याजकान्तं
कर्णाटेन्दोर्जगति विदुषां कण्ठभूषात्वमेयात् ॥

the *Rgveda*, for thousands of years learning it by rote with traditional intonation and accents. Thanks to their efforts, in the words of KATRE, "the hymns of the *Rgveda*, as we read them today in our printed editions, have remained *almost* unaltered, word for word, syllable for syllable, accent for accent during the last three millenniums."[7] It may be interesting to note that they took great pains to preserve the ancient religious texts in their pristine form and purity, saving them from any kind of probable interpolation and alteration. They thus invented different rigorous forms such as *Padapāṭha*, *Kramapāṭha*, *Jaṭāpāṭha*, and *Ghanapāṭha*, and accordingly established a tradition of learning a *Saṃhitā* — a complete collection of hymns of a Veda — by heart together with them. Besides learning by heart a *Saṃhitā* along with those rigorous forms just mentioned, the Vedic pandits also learn, more or less in the same way, other allied works with the text such as a *Brāhmaṇa*, an *Upaniṣad* and *Sūtra-s* together with all the six *Vedāṅga-s*, or, the limbs of the Veda, namely, *Śikṣā* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (the science of religious practice), V*yākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Chandas* (prosody) and *Jyautiṣa* (astronomy). The ancients laid the ideal before each Brahmin boy that he should learn by rote and understand well his own Veda together with its six limbs, without expecting any kind of return from his study of them.[8] Thus they connected Vedic studies with religious duty, and in so doing preserved the great national heritage for thousands of years.

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[7] S. M. KATRE, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Poona: Deccan College Post–graduate and Research Institute, 1954) p. 14.

Now, you can question why the ancients, who spared no pains in preserving the voluminous religious literature in their original form, by learning them by heart, nevertheless, did compose all the fundamental works in different *śāstra*–s comprising all the

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8. *Vyākarṇamahābhāsya* by PATAÑJALI (hereinafter to be cited as PATAÑJALI) I . 1 . 1:
ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति ।

elements of the subject in a terse style that needs lengthy expositions to be well understood.

Let me start with *Vyākaraṇa*, or the science of grammar. Take, for instance, the case of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by PĀṆINI, the most prominent work on Sanskrit grammar, which covers the entire field of the subject within four thousand aphorisms of thirty–two thousand syllables ! It should be noted that all the voluminous extant literature on Sanskrit grammar is either an elucidation, an abridgement, or an adaptation of the *Aśṭādhyāyī*, and only in a few cases an addition to, a revision, or an improvement of it. Why did not PĀṆINI compose his work, which was to cover the vast field of Sanskrit grammar, in a volume at least comparable to the *Rgveda*, which was already in existence? Instead he preferred to compose in a terse and cryptic language, observing the tradition of "grammarians who rejoice in the shortening of half a syllable as in the birth of a son."[9]

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[9] *Paribhāṣāpāṭhā*, 134 :
अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः ।

It is a well known fact that nobody can handle aphorisms of PĀṆINI unless he also reads expositions and examples of them. PĀṆINI, for example, says in 6. 1. 101 of his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* one of the famous rules of euphonic combination as अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः, a translation of which, with its *anuvṛtti* (necessary words for the aphorism extracted from the preceding ones) is like this : "When a simple vowel is followed by a homogeneous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and subsequent vowels."[10]

Only that much will not be sufficient to comprehend the rule of PĀṆINI even to the most brilliant student. A lot of examples, therefore, are necessary to make the aphorism fully comprehensible.

If the rules of PĀṆINI cannot be well understood without studying lengthy expositions and examples of them, what is the advantage of his style which is so terse and cryptic ? Needless to say, students of the modern school prefer the textbooks, which cover the entire course within limited pages, to voluminous ones. It is the mentality of students of the modern school to reject voluminous textbooks unless they offer summaries of each chapter. It is the common practice among students of the modern school to take down notes during the lectures of their teachers, in order to help their memory and recapitulate them regularly for eventual success in their examinations. Now you can perhaps imagine more or less similar reasons which encouraged PĀṆINI to compose such terse aphorisms, because the brief statements can be easily memorized and they can be regularly recapitulated without devoting much time.

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[10] ŚRIŚA CHANDRA VASU, ed. and trans. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* (Allahabad: Panini Office, 1891), p. 1087.

If you recite all the aphorisms of PĀṆINI, this takes no more than six hours. Therefore, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* can be recited and recapitulated at least 30 times a year, if you set aside no more than 30 minutes per day for this.

Now let me say something about the nature of texts of the *Jyautiṣa*, that is, Indian mathematics-cum-astronomy. Let me begin with the *Āryabhaṭīya* in which ĀRYABHATA condensed the entire knowledge of Indian mathematics and astronomy known up to the year 476, including his own discovery of the rotation of the earth, in less than one hundred and twenty verses ! It should be noted, however, that ĀRYABHATA makes no mention of addition, substraction, multiplication or division but begins his work with the rules concerning square roots and cubic roots, and although he gives simple definitions of the square and the cub, he nowhere gives examples of his rules.

BHĀSKARA, separated from ĀRYABHATA by little less than seven centuries, composed his *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* considerably surpassing the *Āryabhatīya* in terms of volume. In the first part of the work, generally known as the *Līlāvatī*, BHĀSKARA shows great magnanimity in giving the rules of addition, substraction, multiplication and division and in adding an example of each of them. In his multiplication example he tells us to multiply 135 by 12.

Needless to say, even the most brilliant student cannot understand the principles of multiplication simply on the basis of this single example[11].

In order to understand how tersely Sanskrit texts were composed, let me give a further example from mathematical textbooks. As we all know, multiplication tables play an extremely important role in learning arithemetic. Yet, even BHĀSKARA, whom we have just described as someone who wrote in much more detail than any of his predecessors, makes no mention of multiplication tables anywhere in his work. It is quite interesting to note that the earliest Sanskrit mathematician to mention multiplication tables was

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[11] I should like to make it clear that many of the facts given here to illustrate the short and cryptic nature of Sanskrit texts are borrowed from NAYA RAJ PANT's writings. See, for example, NAYA RAJ PANT, " Trikoṇamiti [Trigonometry], " *Pūrṇimā*, vol. 1, no. 2 (V.S. 2021 [1966]) pp. 77–79.

MUNIŚVARA, born in 1603.[12]

We find more or less the same situation in other Sanskrit literary disciplines. The *Sāṅkhya* system of Indian philosophy, for instance, is described by IŚVARAKRṢṆA in his *Sāṅkhyakārikā*–s in 70 verses, although the extensive commentaries on them and sub-commentaries thereon are numerous.

From the statements given above, you can now clearly understand that the terse style to be found in fundamental ancient Indian texts of various sciences was followed by the authors for nothing else than lightening the burden of scholars, who not only had to memorize but also regularly recapitulate the whole text for the achievement of sound scholarship.

This emphasis on memorizing fundamental texts sentence for sentence, word for word, has created an erroneous impression amongst the masses that traditional scholarship is nothing else than the mechanical repetition of texts. The few cases of persons who have learnt by heart but failed to understand the meaning of what they have learnt in parrot fashion are quoted to support this impression. It is the Vedic pandits who are mainly responsible for creating this impression of traditional scholarship. Although they mechanically recite the Vedic hymns with a flawless accuracy, they often have no idea of the meaning. In fact, it is far from easy to meet Vedic pandits who know the meaning of the hymns which they know by heart. Even Vedic pandits, who know an enormous number of hymns by rote, are hardly able to understand, speak or write even the simplest Sanskrit.

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[12] NAYA RAJ PANT, "Muniśvarko Pāṭisāra [The Pāṭisāra by Muniśvara]," *Pūrṇimā*, 6 (V. S. 2026 [1969–70], pp. 200–205.

The failure of Vedic pandits to understand the texts they so laboriously learnt by rote is not, however, a new phenomenon. It was also the case in the time of YĀSKA, the author of one of the six limbs of the Vedas. According to him, "he who has learnt the Veda by heart but does not know its meaning is a pollard and only a burden-bearer." Then he extols to the skies the scholar who understands the meaning of Vedic hymns, saying "he who knows the meaning of the Veda dispels through his knowledge all sins committed by him, and acqires all good fortune and also goes to heaven." Then he returns to the point about those who learn the Veda by heart without understanding its meaning, and this time compares them to dry firewood which cannot be burned owing to the absence of sparks.[13]

As the centuries rolled on, the differentiation of spoken dialects from the Vedic language became more and more distinct and the meaning of Vedic hymns gradually became far from comprehensible, unless one had a thorough knowledge of the language of the Vedic hymns.

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[13] *Nirukta* I. 6. 18. 1–2 :

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ।।
यद् गृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।
अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ।।

Already by the time of YĀSKA, the author of one of the six limbs of the Veda, the gap between the spoken language and the language of the Vedas became too wide to be bridged and it became increasingly difficult for scholars to be conversant both with the mechanical learning of Vedic hymns and their meaning, as it can be seen from the passage of the *Nirukta* quoted above.

To avoid this unsatisfactory state in Vedic studies, the educationalists of those days began to lay stress on the study of grammar which they named as the mouth of the Vedas,[14] that is, most important for Vedic studies, and beganto teach students grammar before introducing them to Vedic lore.

But sometimes it is difficult to implement even a good principle. Such was the case with Vedic studies. As the gap between the languages of the day and the Vedic language became increasingly wide, the number of scholars capable of reciting the Vedas by rote and at the same time knowing the meaning of Vedic hymns, dwindled considerably.

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[14] *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā* 41–42 :

छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पाऽथ पठ्यते ।
ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुर्निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते ॥
शिघ्राणं तुक्षा वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।

During the age when the *Mahābhārata* was being composed, the *Śrotriya*-s or the Vedic scholars, who learnt the Vedas by heart without knowing their meaning, were criticized by a section of thinkers to such an extent that "the intellect of the *Śrotriya*, naturally dull and of little understanding, is further deadened by rote–learning so that he is no longer able to see the reality."[15]

In this context, it is to be noted that PATAÑJALI, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, or the *Great Commentary* on PĀṆINI's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, who most probably used one of the Prakritic dialects of the second century

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[15] *Mahābhārata*

श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन् मन्दकस्याल्पमेधसः ।
अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

B. C. in his everyday life, deplores the educational conditions of his day, when knowledge of grammar was no longer considered a prerequisite for Vedic learning in comparison to the olden days, in the words quoted below:

"In ancient times, it was the custom that after the solemnization of the purificatory rites (investiture with the sacred thread) Brahmins should study grammar. The Vedic words were taught to only those who knew the organs connected with the utterance of sounds, as well as internal and external efforts of the mouth in uttering sounds. That custom is no longer prevalent. Having studied the Veda they hastily say: The Vedic words are known to us from the Veda and the words of common usage from people. Grammar, therefore, is redundant."[16]

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[16] PATAñJALI I. 1. 1. :

पुराकल्प एतदासीत् । संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते । तेभ्यस्तत्र स्थानकरणानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिका शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदद्यत्वे न तथा । वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति । वेदान्नो वैदिका शब्दाः सिद्धा लोकाच्च लौकिकाः अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति ।

PATAÑJALI's purpose in composing the *Great Commentary* was, as he tells us, none other than attracting the Vedic scholars of his day, whom he describes as having minds going in opposite directions.[17]

It can be clearly seen in several passages of his *Great Commentary* that PATAÑJALI tries his best to attract Vedic scholars to study grammatical science, linking it several times with Vedic lore which predominated all sciences in the curriculum of those days. He tells the Vedic scholars, for instance, that "grammar is to be studied for the preservation of the Vedas and only he, who knows the grammatical rules of elision, addition and change of letters, will preserve the Vedas well."[18]

In spite of the great care taken by educationalists to produce Vedic scholars who

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17. *op. cit.* :

तेभ्य एव विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्योऽध्येतृभ्य आचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे ।

18. *op. cit.* :

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारज्ञो हि सम्यग् वेदान् परिपालयिष्यति ।

knew sacred texts by heart and who were also qualified for the understanding of the meaning of the texts, their plan proved too ambitious to be fulfilled by every Vedic scholar.

ALTEKAR seems right in saying that, "it was reluctantly decided to assign the memorising of the Vedic texts to one section of Brahmanas and their exposition to another. It had become humanly impossible to expect both the tasks to be done by the same individual."[19]

Thus the capability of learning the Vedas by heart and expounding them is a rare achievement for Vedic scholars, if not impossible. Such a rare combination was seen in the last century in DAYANANDA SARASVATI, who established the sect known as Arya Samaj.

Although fundamental texts of various sciences are compressed in order to aid students' memorization, they are usually accompanied by voluminous commentaries, in which the full meaning of each statement is given in detail, with examples and counter-examples. Sometimes even the commentators improve on the authors' statements, if necessary, and correct their errors, if any. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by PĀṆINI, for example, is accompanied by a learned commentary *Kāśikā*, which, as I–TSING, a late seventh century student at Nālandā from China, tells us, is 18 times bigger than the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[20] In it can be found all the merits enumerated above.

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[19] ALTEKAR, p. 162.

Every department of Sanskrit literature is so vast that it requires several years of rigorous study to master a single section of it. Take, for instance, the case of the grammatical science. It is categorized into two divisions: *Prācīna Vyākaraṇa*, or the old school of grammar, and *Navya Vyākaraṇa*, or the new school. If you want to be thoroughly conversant with only the former, you should devote at least twelve years of diligent study. That is why we have a time-honoured saying which tells us that grammar can be learnt within twelve years.[21]

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[20] J. TAKAKUSU, trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (London: Clarendon Press, 1896, hereinafter to be cited as I–TSING), pp. 172, 175.

Learning of a science in the traditional method usually begins with impressing the fundamental text to memory word for word. Only after that the actual teaching begins, with the expounding of a commentary in which those teachers gifted with extraordinary talents add more through their own observations.

As I–TSING tells us, the study of grammar in the seventh century began by memorizing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Students used to devote eight months to this and then they used to study *Khila*–s, or appendices to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* such as *Uṇādipāṭha*. This took three years and only after that was formal study of grammar introduced through the *Kāśikā*. As I–TSING mentions, this was mastered within a span of five years.[22]

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[21] द्वादशभिर्वर्षैर्व्याकरणं श्रूयते ।

[22] I–TSING, pp. 172-175.

Now let me add something here to show that in the course of teaching, teachers not only expounded the text with a commentary but also added numerous examples of each formula from their own side in order to make it better understood by their pupils. BHĀSKARA, in his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, for example, exhorts the teachers who are going to teach his work that they should add thousands of examples to a given formula from their own observations to make it clearly understood by their pupils.[23]

It should be noted that students had not only to impress fundmental texts to their memory and read commentaries on them but also had to do a lot of written exercises so as to be able to handle those formulae they learnt by heart. One of the fine examples of this can be found in a charming verse in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* by ŚRIHARṢA. As we can understand from that verse, in the process of learning and perfecting their understanding of PĀṆINI's grammatical rules, students used to practise writing the formations of different word forms using chalk and wooden boards.[24]

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[23] *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*: Golādhyāya Tripraśnavāsanādhikara. 23:

क्षितिजेऽजादि कृत्वा गोलं भ्रमयन् प्रदर्शयेत् सर्वम् ।
उक्तमनुक्तं चान्यच्छिष्याणां बोधजननार्थम् ॥

op. cit. 49:

कोटिर्नरः शङ्कुतलं च बाहुच्छेदः श्रुतिस्त्र्यस्रसहस्रमेवम् ।
उत्पाद्य सद्यः स्फुटगोलविद्यैश्छात्राय शास्त्रं प्रतिपादनीयम् ॥

It was only ofter devoting the best part of one's formative life in the rigorous learning of a particular science that one was eventually considered a scholar. The extent of a person's knowledge was tested in the *śāstrārtha*–s, or learned debates, held from time to time in different forums. In these debates, the scholar, anxious to prove not that he possessed certain minimum qualifications but that he was

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24. *Naiṣadhīyacarita* by ŚRIHARṢA (hereinafter to be cited as ŚRIHARṢA) XIX. 62:

दाक्षीपुत्रस्य तन्त्रे ध्रुवमयमभवत् कोऽप्यघीती कपोतः
कण्ठे शब्दौघसिद्धिक्षतबहुकठिनीशेषभूषानुयातः ।
सञ्जं विस्मृत्य दैवात् स्मृतिमुषसि गतां घोषयन् यो घुसंज्ञां
प्राक्संस्कारेण संप्रत्यपि धुवति शिरः पट्टिकापाठजेन ॥

the best scholar in the land, used to fiercely defend his own propositions as well as attack those of his opponents.

The ancient educationalists of India had more foresight than their modern counterparts in trying to prevent wastage in education. As is well known, the majority of students within a few years of leaving school forget a considerable portion of what they had so laboriously learned in the formative years of their lives. The educationalists of ancient India left no stone unturned to prevent this disastrous wastage, a henious crime in their eyes, comparable to the murder of a friend or a Brahmin.[25] Therefore, a graduate at the time of his convocation was exhorted by his own teacher not to neglect his *svādhyāya*, or self-study[26]. Thus a tradition was established in ancient India in which even after settling down to profsssional life, each graduate was encouraged to set apart a limited time for the daily recapitulation of a portion of what he had learnt as a student. In this way the graduates succeeded in maintaining sound scholarship throughout their lives.

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[25] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* III. 228:

गुरूणामध्यधिक्षेपो वेदनिन्दा सुहृद्वधः ।
ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमधीतस्य च नाशनम् ॥

[26] *Taittirīyopaniṣad* I. 11.1:

स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः । ··· स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् ।

As a further way of preventing wastage in education, the ancient educationalists established a tradition according to which every year during the rainy season former students should set apart extra time at home for revising what they had learnt as students.[27] A few of the highly ambitious educationalists such as ŚVETAKETU went to extremes and advocated that even former students who had already settled down to married life should spend two months of every year in their old schools to refresh their memories.[28] Others maintained that a graduate should return later to stay with his previous teacher so that the science he had previously learnt, could be thoroughly mastered thereby qualifying him to be a master of repute.[29]

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[27] ALTEKAR, pp. 27, 286–288.

[28] *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (hereinafter to be cited as ĀPASTAMBA) I. 4. 13. 19–22 : निवेशे वृत्ते संवत्सरे संवत्सरे द्वौ द्वौ मासौ समाहित आचार्यकुले

The festival of *Śrāvaṇī* should be mentioned at this point. Although these days it is known as an occasion when most of the upper–caste Hindus celebrate the annual replacement of their sacred thread, it was originally introduced in schools to mark the commencement of the academic session for new–comers and the special period of recapitulation of previously learnt texts for those who had already settled down to their professional lives.[30]

वसेद् भूयः श्रुतमिच्छन्निति श्वेतकेतुः ।
एतेन ह्यहं योगेन भूयः पूर्वस्मात् कालाच्छ्रुतमकुर्वीति ।
तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् ।
निवेशे हि वृत्ते नैयमिकानि श्रूयन्ते ।

29. *op. cit.* II. 2. 5. 15:
यया विद्यया न विरोचेत पुनराचार्यमुपेत्य नियमेन साधयेत् ।

30. *Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* XIII. 1 :
अयातः स्वाध्यायोपाकर्म श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां प्रौष्ठपद्यां वा ।
ALTEKAR, pp. 284–288.

The success achieved by religious teachers in ancient India to establish the tradition of *svādhyāya* can be illustrated by the fact that it was given a status equal to that of a *tapas*, or asceticism, and named as one of the five *mahāyajña-s*, or sacrificial rites of much worth. Since through the practice of *tapas* everything can be achieved, nothing is impossible; if you do *svādhyāya* this is nothing but *tapas*, as they tell us.[31] According to the religious teachers, *svādhyāya* is the *brahmayajña*. Further, as has been opined by them, in this ritual the word uttered represents a *juhū* (crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire), the mind substitutes an *upabhṛt* (round wooden cup used in sacrifices) the eyes are a *dhruvā* (fig-leaf-shaped wooden sacrificial ladle), the retentive intellect is compared to a *sruvas* (palm-shaped wooden ladle, commonly used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire), the truth is nothing but an *avabhṛtha* (bathing at the end of a sacrifice for purification), and the heavenly world to be achieved through

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[31] ĀPSATAMBA I. 4. 12. 1:
तपः स्वाध्याय इति ब्राह्मणम् ।

svādhyāya, is the completion of a sacrifice.[32]

The religious teachers who were greatly anxious to secure the noble tradition of *svādhyāya*, established to check wastage in education, did not hesitate even to relax some of the rules and regulations which were to be observed by a *svādhyāyin*, or one who does *svādhyāya*. Thus they permitted *svādhyāyin*-s to do their *svādhyāya* in whatever posture they liked, allowed them to wear a garland, or smear their bodies with oily substances or dress themselves luxuriously – all of which they were formerly forbidden. Therefore, the religious teachers declared that he who does *svādhyāya* practices *tapas* up to the nail-points of his feet, irrespective of whether he does this by standing, walking, sitting or lying on a comfortable bed, with his body smeared with oily substances, or dressing himself luxuriously or wearing a garland[33].

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[32] *Mādhyandinīya Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (hereinafter to be cited as *Śatapatha*) XI. 5.6.1 & 3:
'पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः । तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति ।
अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः । स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञस्तस्य वा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य वागेव जुहूर्मन उपभृच्चक्षुर्ध्रुवा मेधा स्रुवः सत्यमवभृथः स्वर्गो लोक उदयनं···

Thus the traditional method, with its glorious past, was meant to preserve knowledge accumulated through the ages, as well as to advance learning steadily. Thanks to this method, the ancients of India made considerable progress in various sciences long ago – almost an unparalleled achievement if you compare these developments with the scholastic progress made by other nations of the past.

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[33] *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* II. 12–13:
उत तिष्ठन्नुत व्रजन्नुतासीन उत शयानोऽधीत स्वाध्यायम् ।
तप एव तत् तप्यते तपो हि स्वाध्यायः ।
Śatapatha XI. 5.7.4:
यदि ह वा अप्यभ्यक्तोऽलंकृतः सुहितः सुखे शयने शयानः
स्वाध्यायमधीत आहैव स नखाग्रेभ्यस्तप्यते य एवं विद्वान
स्वाध्यायमधीते तस्माद् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः ।
ĀPSATAMBA I.4.12. 2:
तत्र श्रूयते । स यदि तिष्ठन्नासीन शयानो वा स्वाध्यायमधीते तप
एव तत् तप्यते तपो हि स्वाध्याय इति ।
Manusmṛti II. 167:
आहैव स नखाग्रेभ्यः परमं तप्यते तपः ।
यत् स्रग्व्यपि द्विजोऽधीते स्वाध्यायं शक्तितोऽन्वहम् ॥

After a hectic activity of thousands of years, the Indian intellect gradually ceased to be innovative and it slowly became less open to new horizons of knowledge. ALTEKAR is right in saying that "towards the beginning of the 9th century A. D., the creative vein in the Indian intellect got fatigued after an intense activity of more than 2,000 years. Hindu intellect had probably become old and no longer possessed the energy necessary to open out new paths of thought and action . . . . The golden age of inspiration had gone, no new achievements were possible, the best that the age could do was to preserve, expound and comment upon the masterpieces of the past. Hindu educational system was unable to create minds powerful enough to rise above the influence of these theories. For the last one thousand years and more, the Hindus have been writing only digests and commentaries on the works of earlier periods. Creative activity has come to a practical standstill."[34]

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[34] ALTEKAR, p. 256,

NEHRU describes this state as "the afternoon of a civilization; the glow of the morning had long faded away, high noon was past."[35] You will, I am sure, agree with NEHRU, as I do, in the statement quoted below: "There is no great figure in philosophy after Shankara in the eighth century, though there is a long succession of commentators and dialecticians . . . . The sense of curiosity and the spirit of mental adventure give place to a hard and formal logic and a sterile dialectic. . . . In literature, Bhavabhuti (eighth century) is the last great figure. Many books continued to be written, but their style becomes more and more involved and intricate; there is neither freshness of thought nor of expression. In mathematics, Bhaskara II (twelfth century) is the last great name."[36]

What was the cause of the declining state

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35. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *The Discovery of India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967) p. 233.

36. *op. cit.* pp. 233–234.

of the Indian intellect which was so fertile for thousands of years ? ALTEKAR gives us the probable cause of this in the following words: "Probably the heritage of the past became so great that all the ability of scholars was engrossed in preserving it."[37] And he satisfies himself by comparing this state with Europe where "the creative phase of the Greak or the Roman intellect lasted for about 1,000 years only."[38]

NAYA RAJ PANT, however, goes much further in investigating the cause of the decline of Indian innovation and creativity and holds a quite different view from the one stated above. This view seems to me quite rational. Now, in the next few paragraphs, I would like to summarize what kind of view he holds in this regard, for they are still unpublished.[39]

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37. ALTEKAR, p. 256.
38. *op. cit.*
39. He has expressed this view in his *Hāmro Uddeśya ra Kāryapraṇāli* [Our Aim and Working Method] written in 1957.

According to him, the root cause of this downfall can be found in spiritualistic ideas which encroached so forcefully on the Indian mind in later times and is still gripping Indian thinking, that it neglected the material aspect of life.

In ancient times our ancestors showed a keen interest in advancing various kinds of knowledge which they considered necessary for the development of the material as well as the spiritual aspects of humanity. In those days, they divided all the knowledge, accumulated through the ages, into four broad divisions, namely, *Trayī*, *Ānvikṣiki*, *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*, which we can loosely translate into English as Vedic lore, philosophy, the sciences of agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce, and political philosophy, respectively. All the four faculties of learning were being advanced in those days, though a few thinkers occasionally emphasized the importance of one faculty at the expense of the others.[40]

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40. *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra* I. 2 :
आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः ।१।

In later times, as NAYA RAJ PANT tells

त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः ।२। त्रयीविशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीति ।३।

वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति बार्हस्पत्याः ।४। संवरणमात्रं हि त्रयी लोकयात्राविद इति ।५।

दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः ।६। तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति ।७।

चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटल्यः ।८।

ताभिर्धर्मार्थौ यद् विद्यात् तद् विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् ।९।

साङ्ख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षिकी ।१०। धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्यामर्थानर्थौ वार्तायां नयापनयौ दण्डनीत्यां बलाबले चैतासां हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्योपकरोति व्यसनेऽभ्युदये च बुद्धिमवस्थापयति प्रज्ञावाक्यक्रियावैशारद्यं च करोति ।११।

प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥१२॥

op. cit. I. 3. 1–4 :

सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी । अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः ।

शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचितिज्यौतिषमिति चाङ्गानि ।

एष त्रयीधर्मश्चतुर्णां वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च स्वधर्मस्थापनादौपकारिकः ।

op. cit. I.4. 1–4 :

कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वणिज्या च वार्ता, धान्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यविष्टिप्रदानादौपकारिकी । तया स्वपक्षं परपक्षं च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम् ।

आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः, तस्य

us, the Indian intellect was flooded with spiritualistic ideas and, consequently, the faculty of *Ānvīkṣikī* was patronized at the expense of *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*, both of which play an important role in the material advancement of humanity. The *gurukula*–s, or abodes of teachers, at which students formerly used to get different kinds of knowledge, were replaced by *maṭha*–s, or monasteries, where monks disgusted with materialistic life, used to impart knowledge to students of tender age emphasizing spiritual knowledge and totally ignoring the sciences which have close relation with their everyday lives.

On account of the age–old influence of the Vedas upon god–fearing Indian minds as well as the incorporation into it of some essential sciences such as grammar

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नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः, अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षिणी रक्षितविवर्धिनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थे प्रतिपादनी च । तस्यामायत्ता लोकयात्रा ।

op. cit. I.5. 1–2, 14 :

तस्माद् दण्डमूलास्तिस्रो विद्याः । विनयमूलो दण्डः प्राणभृतां योगक्षेमावहः ।

पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः ।

the lore of *Trayī* still holds ground to some extent, whereas *Vārt* and *Daṇḍanīti* gradually failed to hold ground. Thus it was natural that other faculties, disfavoured by the majority of thinkers of the age, went on the decline. Even Ā*nvīkṣikī*, however, did not get the kind of healthy atmosphere necessary for the development and advancement of diverse systems of Indian philosophy. The materialistic system of Indian philosophy, known as *Lokāyata*, for example, was discouraged so that almost the whole literature of this system is completely lost to us. There are no systematic works on materialism to be found; so we are forced to satisfy our curiosity about this system by gleaning what we can from the works of other schools of Indian philosophy which mention materialistic points of view for refutation, or by reading a few manuals of Indian philosophy which embrace all the systems in one volume.

The tradition of other faculties excluding Ā*nvīkṣikī*, which itself was in incomplete form, was broken, though a few scholars of other faculties were few and far between in India. Owing to this discontinuity in the tradition, other kinds of learning, accumulated through the ages, were gradually forgotten. Of course, it was next to impossible for innovations to appear in those faculties. As a consequence, India, deprived of the knowledge of political science, was open to hopeless bondage by foreigners for several centuries.

I would like to add here a fine example which the erudite historian extracts from his vast knowledge of Indian history to prove how India prospered when she was conscious of political ideas and how she suffered when she was devoid of political consciousness[41] The reason for the MAURYAS' success in freeing Indian lands from the yoke of Greek rule can be traced back to their political consciousness, which also made possible the composition of as great a work on Indian political philosophy as the *Arthaśāstra* by KAUTALYA. This work clearly states that the advancement of all the four faculties of learning are undeniably of great worth for the progress of humanity. After the lapse of almost thirteen centuries of the composition of KAUTALYA's *Arthaśāstra,* India fell prey to Muslim rule which lasted six hundred years. It is to be noted that on the eve of Muslim invasion neither *Vārtā* nor *Daṇḍanīti* was included in Indian curriculum, as can be seen from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, one of the five widely read epics of classical Sanskrit. In this, SRIHARṢA, the court poet of the last monarch of Kannauj, describes, in poetic language, the youthful physical form of the goddess SARASVATI made out of the various subjects of learning in which two of the four faculties of

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[41] NAYA RAJ PANT, "Yo Kāma kina Bhairahecha ? [Why Is This Work Being Done ?]," in DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA and JÑAN MANI NEPAL, ed. *Aitihāsika Patrasaṃgraha* [A Collection of Historical Documents] pt. 1 [Kathmaudu: Nepal-

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Samskritik–Parishad, V. S. 2014 (1957)], pp. 7–11, learning, i. e. *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti* are nowhere mentioned.[42]

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[42] SRIHARṢA X. 73–87:

मध्येसभं सावततार बाला गन्धर्वविद्याधरकण्ठनाला ।
त्रयीमयीभूतवलीविभङ्गा साहित्यनिर्वर्तितदृक्तरङ्गा ।।
आसीदथर्वा त्रिवलित्रिवेदीमूलाद् विनिर्गत्य वितायमाना ।
नानाभिचारोचितमेचकश्रीः श्रुतिर्यदीयोदररोमरेखा ।।
शिक्षैव साक्षाच्चरितं यदीयं कल्पश्रियाकल्पविधिर्यदीयः ।
यस्याः समस्तार्थनिरुक्तिरूपैर्निरुक्तिविद्या खलु पर्यणंसीत् ।।
जात्या च वृत्तेन च भिद्यमानं छन्दो भुजद्वन्द्वमभूद् यदीयम् ।
श्लोकार्धविश्रान्तिमयीभविष्णु पर्वद्वयीसन्धिसुचिह्नमध्यम् ।।
असंशयं सा गुणदीर्घभावकृता दधाना वितर्ति यदीया ।
विधायिका शब्दपरम्पराणां किं वारचि व्याकरणेन काञ्ची ।।
स्थितैव कण्ठे परिणम्य हारलता बभूवोदिततारवृत्ता ।
ज्योतिर्मयी यद्भजनाय विद्या मध्येङ्गमङ्केन भृता विशङ्के ।।
अवैमि वादिप्रतिवादिगाढस्वपक्षरागेण विराजमाने ।
ते पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षशास्त्रे रदच्छदौ भूतवती तदीयौ ।।
ब्रह्मार्थकर्मार्थिकवेदभेदाद् द्विधा विधाय स्थितयात्मदेहम् ।
चक्रे पराच्छादनचारु यस्या मीमांसया मांसलमूरुयुग्मम्।।
उद्देशपर्वण्यपि लक्षणेऽपि द्विधोदितैः षोडशभिः पदार्थैः ।
आन्वीक्षिकीं यद्दशनद्विमालीं तां युक्तिकामाकलितां प्रतीमः ।।
तर्का रदा यद्वदनस्य तर्क्या वादेऽस्य शक्तिः क्व तथाऽन्यथा तैः ।
पत्रं क्व दातुं गुणशालिपूगं क्व वादतः खण्डयितुं प्रभुत्वम् ।।
सपल्लवं व्यासपराशराभ्यां प्रणीतभावादुभयीभविष्णु ।
तन्मत्स्यपद्माद्युपलक्ष्यमाणं यत्पाणियुग्मं ववृते पुराणम् ।।

None the less, it is true that our ancestors worked with unflagging zeal for several hundred years for the preservation of that kind of learning which, in their view, was essential for the welfare of humanity. It would be an unfair conclusion to say that no advancement of learning at all was made in that age and that scholars merely confined themselves to preserving knowledge acquired long ago. We have ample proof to show that some advancement was made in learning during that age, though the approach to learning was different from that of the former period. The point is that the innovative nature of scholarship was replaced, to a large extent, by dialectical erudition. Take, for instance, the case of the

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आकल्पविच्छेदविवर्जितो यः स धर्मशास्त्रव्रज एव यस्याः ।
पश्यामि मूर्धा श्रुतिमूलशाली कण्ठस्थितः कस्य मुदे न वृत्तः ॥
भ्रुवौ दलाभ्यां प्रणवस्य यस्यास्तद्विन्दुना भालतमालपत्रम् ।
तदर्धचन्द्रेण विधिर्विपञ्चीनिक्वाणनाकोणधनुः प्रणिन्ये ॥
द्विकुण्डली वृत्तसमाप्तिलिप्या कराङ्गुली काञ्चनलेखनीनाम् ।
कैश्यं मषीणां स्मितभा कठिन्याः कार्ये मदीये निरमायि सारैः ॥
या सोमसिद्धान्तमयाननेन शून्यात्मतावादमयोदरेव ।
विज्ञानसामस्त्यमयान्तरेव साकारतासिद्धिमयाखिलेव ॥

science of grammar which culminated during that age in a fully developed system of logical philosophy.

It is too difficult to state exactly the time when our ancestors became unable to preserve in intact form even those branches of Sanskrit literature which they regarded as a must for themselves. But we can safely conclude that this process of deterioration became increasingly evident almost one hundred years ago following the introduction of the Western system of examining students in traditional Sanskrit learning.

As I have mentioned, previously in the traditional method, students tried to prove, by participating in learned debates, that they possessed maximum knowledge of the subject which they had learnt with their teachers. Thanks to the non-existence of the present types of examination intended to determine whether or not a student possesses the minimum qualifications in a given subject, every scholar at that time had to maintain a high standard of scholarship. In the previous pages I have explained how a scholar had to try his best in those days to maintain throughout his active life the knowledge he has acquired as a student, being encouraged by the doctrine that to forget what had once been learnt is a serious disaster in the academic world.

Furthermore, it should be noted that a scholar at that time was not "armed with his irrevocable degree" of the modern age, which is "to serve as a shield" to his modern counterpart who "can afford to forget all that he had learnt, and no one can question his competence. The scholar in ancient India could not take shelter behind the buttress of a degree. He had to keep his scholarship fresh and up–to–date, for he was liable to be challenged at any moment for a literary affray (*Śāstrārtha*), and society used to judge his merit by the way in which he aquitted himself in such discussions. All that he had learnt, he had to keep ready at the tip of his tongue; he could neither point to his diploma nor ask for time to refer to his note books."[43]

Now let me tell you how this deviation from the time–honoured system became possible. The history of aberration in the system can be traced back to the period which was marked by the growth of the British power in India. During this period, the British rulers started institutionalizing Sanskrit learning with political motivations. One ample evidence of this was the establishment of the *Benares Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā* in 1791 through the effort of JONATHAN DUNCAN, the then Resident in the court of Benares.

The British rulers in india, clearly seeing the advantage of ruling the Hindus according to their own laws and customs, encouraged a number of Englishmen to study Sanskrit, the main source of Indian thinking for thousands of years. To facilitate this, the British Government in India wanted a continuous flow of native Sanskritists, trained traditionally in indigenous method, who could assist the English scholars in understanding Indian thinking, as preserved in Sanskrit. Besides this, the British rulers intended to satisfy their Hindu subjects by patronizing their learning and thus giving them an opportunity to study their own Śā*stra*–s at public expense. To fulfil these aims there was no better means than the establishment of Sanskrit *Pāṭha*-*śālā*-s in different parts of India.

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[43] ALTEKAR, p. 170

Considering that the *Benares Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā* was founded for the achievement of political means, it is not surprising that it did not make much effort for promoting Sanskrit learning in various ways. Nevertheless, the *Pāṭhaśālā* was able to produce scholars of considerable calibre during the first century of its existence, albeit on a limited scale. GANGADHAR SHASTRI (1853–1913) SHIVAKUMAR SHASTRI (1848–1918) and SUDHAKARA DVIVEDI (1861-1910), to mention only a few, were the authorities in *Sāhitya* and *Darśana*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Jyautiṣa* respectively.

You may be surprised to hear that GANGA-

DHAR SHASTRI, in my opinion, does compete even with KĀLIDĀSA in the lucid literary style, if not excell him. You will be aware of his highly scholastic achievement in different systems of Indian philosophy and *Sāhitya* once you read his work entitled *Alivilāsisaṃlāpa*, comprising nine centuries of charming Sanskrit stanzas. Of course, he was *Vāśyavāc Kavi*, i. e. a poet in full command of language. It is interesting to note that he composed a fine Sanskrit *Campū* (a literary form interwoven with verse and prose) named *Ācāryavaṃśāvalī* in which he describes an euologistic history of a neo-affluent Brahmin family from Kathmandu valley. This book was published at Benares in 1903 in the name of one of the members of that family, however.

Although the *Benares Pāṭhaśālā* introduced from the very begining of its opening the system of regular examination not known in the Indian system of education, it was able to keep a few characteristics of the traditional Sanskrit education, such as the thorough learning of fudnamental texts by heart, the recapitulation of them and participation in *śāstrārtha*-s.

Let me add here a few examples of the great care taken by the products of this *Pāṭhaśālā* to pursue *svādhyāya*. It is well known even to the present generation of traditional Sanskrit scholars that GANGADHAR SHASTRI, whom we have just referred to above, used to recapitulate the well-known lexicon by AMARASIMHA twice a month, setting apart every *aṣṭamī* (the eighth day of waxing or waning moon) for this purpose. Being preoccupied with teaching and with literary compositions, and active in editing Sanskrit texts for the *Pāṭhaśālā*'s Journal, *Pandit*, and its renowned *Benares Sanskrit Series*, GANGADHAR had no time to do his *svādhyāya* on other days. This is why he set aside every fortnight a weekly holiday for the *svādhyāya* of the *Amarakośa*. Being too much preoccupied with his work as doyen of *Jyautiṣa*, SUDHAKARA DVIVEDI could spare time to recapitulate the *Līlāvatī* and the *Bijagaṇita* by BHĀSKARA only during his daily walks to and from the *Benares Pāṭhaśāla*, as his *śiṣya*-s and *praśiṣya-s*, i. e. disciples and disciples of his disciples, tell us.

It was in 1880 that the *Benares Pāṭhaśālā* began to confer degrees to its examinees, who proved in the examination that they possessed the necessary minimum qualifications. Following the introduction of this system, there was no longer any need to master the whole course thoroughly to qualify as a scholar. Besides, scholars armed with imperishable degrees no longer needed to recapitulate what they had learnt as students. Thus losing much of the salient features of the traditional scholarship of Sanskrit learning, the products of the *Pāṭhaśālā* increasingly went to rack and ruin. Nevertheless, a few scholars of outstanding ability were being produced at the *Pāṭhaśālā* before the struggle for independence in India became increasingly forceful during and after the Second World War.

Let me mention here a few outstanding Nepalese Sankritists who received the degrees from the *Pāṭhaśālā*. PADMA PRASAD BHATTARAI (1896–1974), who received the highest degree from the *Pāthaśāla* in 1924, was one of the greatest *Naiyāyika*-s and an authority on *Dharmaśāstra* not only in Nepal but also in India. KULACHANDRA GAUTAM (1875–1958), who studied *Sāhitya* at the *Pāṭhaśāla* at the feet of GANGADHAR SHASTRI, was *Vaśyavāc Kavi* of Sanskrit to such a degree that he was able to answer all the questions in his examinations in lucid verse ! I am sure you would highly appreciate GAUTAM's fluent language and literary style, if you read his poetical works. NAYA RAJ PANT, trained in *Jyautiṣa* at the *Pāṭhaśālā* during the 1930's, discovered errors in the question papers themselves which he was supposed to answer in the examination hall ! Renowned as a versatile scholar of *Jyautiṣa*, PANT has mastered even the abstruse texts of this science so well that he is probably without compeer in his field.

The leaders of the independence struggle in India were in urgent need of thousands of young people, who could sacrifice themselves for the cause of the freedom of their own country. There was no section of Indian people other than students in various institutions situated throughout the breadth and length of India, who were fully aware of the deplorable state of their nation and at the same time ever ready to undergo any sacrifice for the cause of the independence because they were not yet the earning members of their family. Students, therefore, actively participated in the movement. Of course, this contributed in no small scale to the liberation of the Indian people. But the participation of students in the freedom movement naturally weakened their scholastic achievement, and the students of *Benares Pāṭhaśālā* were undoubtedly no exception to this.

After independence, the general standard of Indian education became increasingly low in comparison to that of the British period. The same is true of Sanskrit education. The *Benares Pāṭhaśālā* developed into a full–fledged university in 1958, but regrettably it remained unable to check the deteriorating process seen in Sanskrit learning.

Almost two decades ago, we opened our own university for the first time in the history of our country. Thanks to the inauguration of our own university, we are able to evolve our own educational policy taking into account our own needs and aspirations. In Sanskrit education also we are able to award our own degrees, ceasing our affiliation with the Benares Sanskrit University. But I cannot help telling a bitter truth, though it may hurt your patriotic feelings, that the majority of the products of Tribhuvan University in traditional learning of Sanskrit hardly know the literal meaning of the words employed in their textbooks, not to speak of the resulting lack of the knowledge of their own subject. It is a common scene to find them scarcely able to communicate even in the simplest Sanskrit either orally or in writing. Learning by rote, which is the core of traditional Sanskrit scholarship, is no longer in vogue. Students pass the highest examination in Sanskrit without knowing the simple fact that in Sanskrit all adjectives must take the same gender, number and case as the noun which they qualify[45]. The oral mehod of imparting knowledge of *Śastra*–s is already defunct in Nepal. Both teachers and students can be seen to be equally struggling hard to decipher *ṭika*-s or commentaries. Gone are the days when books never interfered in expounding even difficult .texts. This fact is now just a legend of past. The scholarly *tīkā*-s are replaced by substandard Hindi commentaries and nobody bothers to understand the older *ṭikā*–s written in standard Sanskrit by scholars of considerable calibre. Thus traditional sanskrit learning which was preserved by our forefathers through self-imposed poverty from generation to generation, has actually turned into a moribund tradition due to our own faults.

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45. NAYA RAJ PANT, "Tribhuvana–Viśvavidyālayamā Mero Adhyāpakatva [My Teachership at Tribhuvan University]," *Pūrṇimā*, V (V. S. 2025 [1968–1969]), pp. 243–244.

I shall conclude this part of my essay with a big question which troubles the wisest of us and which NEHRU put before us while talking about the Dark Ages of European History : "Why should the knowledge accumulated through hundreds of years of labour disappear, or be forgotten"?[45].

ON THE WESTERN METHOD

The first part of this essay gave an account of the development and present state of Sanskrit education in reference to the traditional method . I should now like to turn to the Western method. In comparison with the traditional method, the Western method is quite new, having developed only after the discovery of Sanskrit by European scholars at the end of the eighteenth century.

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[45] JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *Glimpses of World History*, 4th ed. (London: Lindsay Drummond Limited, 1949), p. 110.

Nevertheless, the Western method is based on critical European scholarship, the history of which can be traced back to the fourteenth century. So let me begin this part with some comments on the Renaissance, the period first producing the kind of critical scholarship which is a significant feature of the Western method.

During the 'Middle Ages, scholarly communities in Western and Central Europe possessd little knowledge of, or interest in, the literature of ancient Greece. Latin, on the other hand, was the common medium of communication among the learned of all nations. Yet mediaeval scholars showed little interest in the classical literature of Rome, they mostly confined their efforts to theological subtleties. In consequence, other salient features of the classical literature of Rome received only partial treatment at the hands of mediaeval scholars, even though Latin was still a living tongue of this part of Europe.

The tradition of studying Greek was well founded in Western Europe only after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, when Greek scholars came to Italy in larger numbers as refugees, and from there dispersed over many parts of the continent. The presence of so many Greek scholars in Western Europe created an atmosphere encourging classical learning. This learning became instrumental in developing the spirit of inquiry which is undoubtedly one of the main characteristics of Western thinking.

During that period, not only the classical learning of Greece was revived but also the founding of Biblical criticism became possible. Two German scholars devoted themselves to this cause. One of them, JOHN REUCHLIN (1455–1522) went back to studying Hebrew and the scripture of the Old Testament in its original and another, DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (1467–1536), studied the text of the Greek New Testament. With the founding of the tradition of Biblical criticism, people were no longer content to accept without question the teachings of their scriptures and they were encouraged to question the authority of the Church.

Thus we can safely conclude that the Renaissance was primarily a revival of the kind of classical learning characterized by a spirit of enquiry rather than unquestioning submission.

In this reawakened state of European intellect, after a long period of slumber scholars began to master the language of ancient Greece with great zeal, along with Latin which they had studied continuously since early times. This classical learning of Greece and Rome led European scholars to study the extant texts of both languages with a critical and inquisitive approach.

The spirit of enquiry further roused them to explore the languages and literature of other nations and to compare them with their own. Thus European universities gradually transformed themselves into institutions engaged in the noble work of imparting and disseminating knowledge preserved in numerous languages of the world.

It is difficult to say precisely when Europe became acquainted with Sanskrit. But it is definite that the Greeks became aware of the existence of Sanskrit, although to some extent, followlng the invasion of India by ALEXANDER in 327–325 B. C. We also know that during the Middle Ages Indian science was, to little extent, introduced to the West by Arabs.

At any rate, it can be said it was only in the sixteenth century that the Europeans really succeded in acquiring some familiarity with Sanskrit. The first Europeans to be acquainted with Sanskrit were a few devoted missionaries preaching Christianity in India. A Dutchman, named ABRAHAM ROGER, who had worked as a preacher in in Paliacatta to the north of Madras, gave some account of the early Indian liturature in his work entitled *Open - Deure to: het verborgen heydendom* [Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom] published in his own language in 1651. Besides this, the Dutch preacher published some of the poems of the famous Sanskrit Poet BHARTRHARI in Dutch, having prepared them from the Portuguese translation of the original Sanskrit, translated for him by a Brahmin. The first Sanskrit grammar, in a European language and by a European, was compiled by a German Jesuit named JOHANN ERNST HANXLEDEN, who worked in Kerala from 1699 to 1732. FRA PAOLINO should also be mentioned in this context. He was an Austrian Carmelite who worked in the coast of Malabar from 1776 till 1779. He compiled two works on *S*anskrit grammar, and several books on India which show his comparatively extensive knowlege of the ancient literature of India and Indian religions.

The British Government in India gave the first impetus to the study of Sanskrit for practical administrative reasons. During the 1770's, WARREN HASTINGS, who was Governer General at the time, realized that British sovereignty in India could only be secure as well as popular if the Britishers ruled their Hindu subjects as far as possible according to Hindu laws and customs. He, therefore, employed a band of Brahmin scholars to compile a work on Hindu law based on ancient and authoritative Hindu texts covering various aspects of law. The work was entitled *Vivādārṇavasetu* [Bridge Over the Ocean of Disputes]. It was translated from Sanskrit into Persian, because there was no one who could render it directly from Sanskrit into English. The Persian translation of *Vivādārṇavasetu* was translated into English by NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED. This English translation entitled *A Code of Ghentoo Law* was published in 1776 at [illegible] expense [illegible] the East India Company. The introduction to this work contains a reliable account of the early Indian language and liturature as well as some samples of the Sanskrit script.

The first Englishman who studied Sanskrit was CHARLES WILKINS. At the instance of his master WARREN HASTINGS, WILKINS learnt Sanskrit from pandits in Benares. He started his literary career with an English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* which appeared in 1785. This was the first book translated directly from Sanskrit into a European language. Two years later, he publised an English translation of the *Hitopadeśa*. In 1795, his English version of the ŚAKUNTALĀ episode from the *Mahābhārata* appeared in print. It may be interesting to note that the Sanskrit type used in his Sanskrit Grammar published in 1808 was carved and cast by himself and was printed for the first time in Europe. Moreover, he pioneered the discipline of Indian epigraphy, deciphering inscriptions and translating them into English.

The credit for initiating the opening of the various departments of Indian literature, however, goes to another Englishman, WILLIAM JONES, who came to Calcutta in 1783 as a judge of the Supreme Court. JONES had already learnt all the more prominent European languages as well as Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and had even acquired some knowledge of Chinese. He had already translated Arabic and Persian poems into English, and had recognized the relationship of European languages with Persian, thus rejecting the view that all these languages are the derivations of Hebrew, and suggesting instead that Persian and the European languages were originated from a common language which certainly was not Hebrew. This many-sided orientalist wanted to exploit the opportunity open to him in India to study Sanskrit and accordingly began to learn the language with the aid of WILKINS and Bengali pandits. JONES' extraordinary contribution to Sanskrit studies was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 on his own initiative and under his own presidentship. This society started its own research journal, with the title *Asiatic Researches*, through which it paved the way for the discovery of history, antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of India. Having acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit, JONES himself translated into English *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. This translation of the famous drama by KALIDASA was first published in 1789 and saw five editions in less than twenty years. This was followed by his English rendering of JAYADEVA's *Gītagovinda*, published in 1792. The firs· man who ever printed an edition of a Sanskrit text was no other than JONES himself, whose edition of *Ṛtusaṃhāra* was printed in 1792 in Calcutta. In addition, he translated into English the well-known legal work *Manusmṛti*, published posthumously in 1794 with the title *Institutes of Hindoo Law, or the Ordinance of Manu*. Besides, JONES affirmed the kinship of Sanskrit with the languages of Europe on a comparatively firm basis, though in 1767 a missionary in India named COEURDOUX had alredy recognized the fact. JONES, who pioneered the science of comparative philology, also succeeded in identifying the similarities between early Indian and Greco-Roman mythology and thus helped to develop a new science of comparative mythology.

Next to JONES, we should mention HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOK, who was the first to handle Sanskrit language and literature on scientific principles. COLEROOKE started his literary career in 1794 in Calcutta under

JONES' guidance by undertaking a translation from Sanskrit into English of a treatise prepared by native scholars on the law of succession and contract. Based on standard works of Indian law-givers, the treatise in its English translation comprising four volumes in print appeared successively in 1797 and 1798 with the title *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions*. In 1805, in an issue of the *Asiatic Researches*, COLEBROOKE published an essay on the Vedas, which was the first to provide trustworthy information about the earliest literature of India. He was the editor of the *Amarakośa* and other Sanskrit dictionaries, of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, of the *Hitopadeśa* and of the *Kirātārjunīya*. Furthermore he authored a Sanskrit grammar and edited and translated many Indian inscriptions.

To the works of these pioneers, we should add that of the Frenchman ANQUETIL–DUPERRON, who was a Persian scholar. He published in 1801 a Latin translation of 50 of the *Upaniṣad*-s from a Persian version which was translated from Sanskrit in 1656 at the instance of DARA SHUKOH, who was beheaded in Delhi three years later by a decree of emperor AURANGZEB, his brother. Let it be noted that already in 1786 DUPERRON had published a translation of four *Upanisad*-s.

As a result of these pioneering works, interest in Sanskrit gradually began to grow in Europe. To quote MACDONELL, "since the Renaissance there has been no event of such world-wide significance in the history of culture as the discovery of Sanskrit literature in the latter part of the eighteenth century."[46]

One of the Englishmen who learnt Sanskrit in India in about the closing years of the eighteenth century was ALEXANDER HAMILTON. HAMILTON, one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, happened to be passing through France on his way home in 1802. Just at that time hostilities broke out afresh between France and England, and the French Government issued a decree by which all Englishmen, who were in France at that time, were prevented from returning home. HAMILTON, thus detained in France, became the first person to teach Sanskrit in Europe. During his long involuntary sojourn in Paris, HAMILTON taught Sanskrit to some French scholars and notably to FRIEDRICH VON SCHLEGEL, the German romantic poet. This study of Sanskrit enabled SCHLEGEL to publish in 1808 *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begrundungder Altertumskunde* [On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. A Contribution to the Foundation of Antiquity]. "This book", in the words of MACDONELL, "produced nothing less than a revolution in the science of language by the introduction of the comparative and the historical method."[47]

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[46] MACDONELL, p. 1.

These Sanskrit lessons, which ALEXANDER HAMILTON taught in Paris, became instru-

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47. MACDONELL, p. 3.

mental in starting formal Sanskrit training at European universities. Though Sanskrit was first taught in England in 1805 at the training college of the East India Company at Hertford, the first university chair of Sanskrit was founded at the College de France in 1814, and was held by LEONARD DE CHEZY. The earliest German chair was founded at the University of Bonn in 1818 and its occupant was FRIEDRICH's elder brother, AUGUST WILHEM VON SCHLEGEL, who was a student of CHEZY and the first German to develop an extensive activity in Sanskrit learning by means of editions of texts, translations and other philological works. In England, the oldest Sanskrit chair was the Boden professorship which was founded at Oxford in 1811 through the munificent bequest of Colonel BODEN whose special object was to promote the translation of Christian scriptures into Sanskrit, so as "to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion."[48] But the

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48. MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A San-*

chair was not filled untill 1832, when it was finally conferred upon HORACE HEYMAN WILSON, who had been an important member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sanskrit chairs were subsequently founded at several other universities in Europe and America.

FRANZ BOPP, who studied Sanskit with CHEZY in Paris, published in 1816 *Uber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskrit—Sprache in Vergleichung mit jenen der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache* [On the Conjugation System of the Sanskrit Language in Comparison with That of Greek, Latin, Persian and German]. In this work, BOPP succeeded in reconstructing the common ancestor of Sanskrit and the classical European languages. Thus he became the founder of the science of comparative philology which developed in succeeding years as an independent science.

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skrit–English Dictionary, 1st Indian ed. (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. IX.

In 1821, the French Societe Asiatique was founded in Paris, and two years later the Royal Asiatic Society was established in London. In the same year, when the Royal Asiatic Society in London was established, AUGUST SCHLEGEL started a research journal in Germany under the title of *Indische Bibliothek* [Indian Library]. It was in 1847 that a research journal, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandishchen Gessellschaft* [Journal of the German Oriental Society], was started by the Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft [German Oriental Society], three years after the foundation of the institution.

All this contributed to the development of Sanskrit learning in the West and the study of Sanskrit went on apace there throughout the nineteenth century. Most probably, the greatest performance shown by the nineteenth century Europe in Sanskrit scholarship was *Sanskrit Worterbuch* [Sanskrit Dictionary]. This lexicon comprising almost nine and a half thousand pages in large folio appeared in seven volumes between 1852 to 1875 under the auspices of the

Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. This dictionary, generally known as the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, after the place of publication, was mainly compiled by two German Scholars, OTTO VON BOHTLINK and RUDOLF ROTH. It has remained the leading authority on the meaning of Sanskrit words — both Vedic and classical— giving copious extracts from numerous texts.

Having given a brief account of the development of Sanskrit studies in the West, I would now like to inquire into what the Western method tries to achieve.

As the Renaissance made Europeans zealous for the extension of the frontiers of their knowledge, they began to explore the diverse civilizations that existed long ago in different parts of the world. They succeeded in unveiling the ancient civilizations of several countries, long since dead and almost completely forgotten by the descendants of those who built them. In India, however, they did come across a civilization which was ancient and yet still living and apparently it had remained fundamentally unchanged for thousands of years. This kind of civilization, with its uninterrupted development of many thousands of years, they could only discover in India and in her mighty neighbour, China. Whereas in their discoveries of most ancient civilizations Europeans were forced to confine their efforts to archaeology and extant literature, in their discovery of the Indian civilization they also had ample opportunities to verify their discoveries with the oldest continuous cultural traditions and to benefit from the oral tradition of native scholars. India, therefore, was a living museum for them in contrast to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and so on.

In the process of discovering the Indian civilization, European scholars developed a method of learning Sanskrit, which is generally known as the Western method. The method calls for the detailed investigation of every aspect of Sanskrit literature and its assessment in the perspective of literary heritages of other nations. The Western method aims at a critical, comparative and historical way so as to trace the history of the Indian civilization. It is the Western method which enabled scholars to discover the affinity of Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, to penetrate into the secret of the formation of human speech and also the development of myths, thereby developing such new sciences as linguistics and mythology.. Owing to this method, we became aware of the history of every section of Sanskrit literature. The credit for the reconstruction of India's past must be attributed to those who followed the Western method in Sanskrit studies. Thanks to this method, we are now conscious of our own national history. This is the method which gave birth to such sciences as Indian epigraphy, palaeography and numismatics which were completely unknown to our ancestors. It is the Western method which made us aware of our artistic heritage by reconstructing the scientific history of Indian arts. Thanks to this method, it became possible to distinguish between Puranic narrations written in hyperbole and true accounts of India's past.

During these two hundred years of Western studies of Sanskrit, detailed investigations into every branch of Sanskrit literature have become so numerous and extensive that it is beyond the capacity of a single scholar to be acquainted with all of it. To cite an instance, you can only have an idea of the extensiveness of the Western studies of Sanskrit after going through the "Appendix to the third Edition" of T. BURROW's *The Sanskrit Languge*, which contains references to the most important contributions to the subject of Sanskrit linguistics which appeared from 1955 to 1972[49].

The Western Method of Sanskrit studies was introduced in the native land of Sanskrit learning following the spread of English education there. This new type of Sanskrit scholarship, which emerged in India under European supervision, inspired many Indians to inquire into their own civilization with a critical, comparative and historical approach. The most fortunate of them were those who were able to go to the West to train themselves in the new methods of research under eminent Western Sanskritists. Thus Indian Sanskrit scholarship benefitted greatly from a band of Sanskritists who had returned to India after completing their philological training abroad, with their heads full of new ideas. These Western–trained Sanskrit scholars became instrumental in furthering Sanskrit learning in the Western method in India. Take, for instance, the case of VISHNU SAKHARAM SUKTHANKAR, who was trained in Germany under one of the most distinguished scholars of Europe. SUKTHANKAR, "with his unrivalled knowledge of Indian texts"[50], was able to prove "that the science of textual criticism as developed by Europeans does not solve all our Indian problems and that certain adaptations are necessary for our conditions."[51] It was SUKTHANKAR who formulated the guiding formulae for the method of editing of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. It is to be noted that SUKTHANKAR's *Prolegomena* to the critical edition of the *Adiparvan* of *Mahābhārata* was the first standard work on the science of Sanskrit textual criticism.

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[49] T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, 3rd ed. (London : Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 390–398.

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[50] KATRE, p. XIII.

[51] *op. cit.* p. XIV.

Indians thus trained in the Western method did considerable work in diverse fields of Sanskrit studies. I would like to mention only a few of their accomplishments : The *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*, *Vedic Word-Concordance*, *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* and *New Catalogus Catalogorum*.

Indian Sanskritists, under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, successfully completed the gigantic project of editing the *Mahābhārata* critically in 1966, spending 47 years on it. This . edition of the *Mahābhārata* covers 22 parts, running altogether to some 13,000 pages in demy quarto. This critical edition is, of course, a great achievement.

in the Western method of Sanskrit studies.

The Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, contributed greatly to the development of Vedic studies by publishing the *Vedic Word–Concordance* in 16 volumes between 1935 and 1965. The *Concordance*, comprising 11,000 pages, forms a universal vocabulary register of all Vedic texts, namely, the *Saṃhitā*–s, the *Brāhmaṇa*–s the *Upaniṣad*–s and the *Vedāṅga*–s, with complete text references and critical comments bearing on the phonology, morphology, accent, grammar, metre, text–criticism and traditional as well as proto-linguistic etymology.

An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles which the Deccan College in Poona began to prepare in 1948, will be, in the words BASHAM, "when complete... probably ... the greatest work of lexicography the world has ever seen".[52] This enormous dictionary, generally known as the *Poona Sanskrit Dictionary*, after the place of publication, is being issued in parts and is expected to replace the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, in several decades to come.

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[52] A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder That Was India* 3rd ed. (Calcutta : Rupa & Co., 1967), p. 8 .

The University of Madras undertook a major project to compile the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* in 1935, intending to list and identify all Sanskrit works that have been discovered so far. This alphabetical register of Sanskrit works, including bibliographical information, has been published volume by volume ever since 1949. It will, no doubt, in due course replace THEODOR AUFRECHT's well-known *Catalogus Catalogorum*, which the German scholar compiled and rectified during the closing and opening years of the last and this century respectively.

Although it may sound strange, the Western method of Sanskrit studies never gained ground in Nepal. It is, however, true that a handful of Nepalis were trained in India in this method even before the opening of our own university and that we now have a full–fledged Department of Sanskrit Studies in Tribhuvan University. Strikingly enough, the Sanskritists of Nepal who trained themselves in the Western method never tried to carry out researches in their field. It is the pandits who began in Nepal researches on Sanskrit literature and on the history of Nepal even though some had little more than a smattering of English and some none at all. The pandits who undertook these research activities, which were by no means favoured by the government, had to work on them in their spare time, losing their own money.

The founder of [illegible] research tradition in Nepal was HEMRAJ SHARMA (1878–1953), who was trained in the traditional method of Sanskrit learning in Kathmandu and Benares. He collected hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts and thousands of Indological books at his own expense[illegible], thus establishing a private library renowned as *Bhāratībhavana*. It is not an exaggeration to say that he was the only Nepali scholar who was renowned among Sanskritists all over the world. You will be aware of his highly scholastic achievement in Indological research once you read his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* which he edited and published in Bombay at his own expense in 1938.

Regarding the research tradition in Nepal, I should mention BABURAM ACHARYA (1888–1972) educated as a pandit of the old school. He collected lots of historical materials and conducted research which threw light on many previously unknown facts, and was the first Nepali in the field of historical research. He wrote a number of research articles of considerable worth on almost every aspect of Nepalese history. It was BABURAM ACHARYA who discovered that the Nepali name given by the local people for the highest mountain in the world was *Sagaramāthā*. It is remarkable that the blind octagenarian produced the best book on PRITHVINARAYANA SHAHA, the founder of a Modern Nepal, between 1967 and 1969 under the patronage of HIS MAJESTY KING BIRENDRA BIR BIKRAM SHAH DEV, then the Crown Prince.

Last but not least, in this respect is Pandit NAYA RAJ PANT who has been struggling hard for the past four decades for laying a tradition of research in Nepal. He is the first native to start research on the history of Nepal along truly scientific lines basing his writings exclusively on contemporary authoritative records. Moreover, he is the only Nepali to carry out researches on Indian mathematics and astronomy. Interestingly, he has also satisfactorily proved that several theories which are now as renowned as the discoveries of European mathematicians are mentioned in Indian texts, which are quite anterior to the European scholars' discoveries.

I conclude this part of my essay with the hope that it has presented you with a picture of the development of the Western method of Sanskrit studies and its present state in Nepal.

WHY SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN NEPAL ?

Contemporary Nepalese intelligentsia generally assume Sanskrit education to be necessary for two main reasons : for maintaining Hindu culture in the only remaining Hindu state of the world; and for establishing amongst its people a positive command of their national language, which is linguistically connected with Sanskrit in numerous ways. But very few intellectuals bother to find out whether we have achieved these aims through Sanskrit education.

I do not precisely know what my enlightened fellow-countrymen mean by Hindu culture because the word 'culture' is one of those vague words which are very hard to define. In this context, however, the word 'culture' should be understood as meaning perhaps 'a way of life'. If so, the achievement of the first goal — the preservation of the traditional Hindu way of life— by imparting Sanskrit education to a handful of Brahmin boys is to ask for the impossible these days, though it could, perhaps to some extent, have been achieved through this kind of education a few decades back. With the advent of democracy in Nepal, people faced the opportunity to be unconventional and subsequently to be Westernized. Thus the Hindu way of life, which was constant through the ages, is now rapidly loosing its hold in Nepal. The products of Sanskrit education are necessarily no exception to this sweeping change, occuring throughout their own society.

Of course, Nepali, the *lingua franca* of Nepal, and Sanskrit are linked linguistically in many ways, just as English is connected with Greek and Latin. There are numerous people who have impeccable command of English without the slightest knowledge of either Greek or Latin. We know many persons in Nepal who possess a first-class command of Nepali and even excel Sanskritists in linguistic performance even though they do not know even the rudiments of Sanskrit. This fact is undoubtedly severely undermining our assumption that knowledge of Sanskrit is a *sin qua non* for gaining command of Nepali.

Thus you can understand that neither of the reasons given to explain the need for Sanskrit education in Nepal are adequately convincing and even seem to be rather weak and superficial. Now you can question the justification for the prodigality of a large amount cf taxpayers' money being set aside for Sanskrit education ,which is of doubtful utility in present-day Nepal. As one of the most underdeveloped countries of the world, Nepal must, of course, make the most of its limited resources for all-round and quick development and for raising the living standards of its citizens.

There is no question that things only survive well if they have a *raison d'être*. The same thing can be applied to the survival of Sanskrit education. Of course, the pitiable condition of Sanskrit education in Nepal is, to a large extent, due to its failure to fulfil the needs of society. But we can definitely say that there is every chance of Sanskrit education proving useful in fulfilling the certain needs of our society. What is needed is a good sense of direction and some reforms in Sanskrit education.

Let me discuss the usefulness of Sanskrit education with reference to the "exact sciences" available in Sanskrit.

Of the "exact sciences" preserved in Sanskrit, Ā*yurveda* is of prime importance since it is linked with the everyday life of the majority of Nepalese people. Ā*yurveda*, in its glorious past, developed in eight directions; hence the name *Aṣṭāṅga* Ā*yurveda*, or Ā*yurveda* with Eight Limbs. The first of the Limbs is *Śalyatantra*, or the science of surgery. The second section deals with the diseases of eyes, nose, ear, head and mouth, and it is known as *Śālākya*. The third segment –*Kāyacikitsā*– is on medicine and the fourth, bearing the name of *Bhūtavidyā*, is on exorcism and shamanism and also embraces the field of psychiatry. *Kaumārabhṛtya*, the fifth sector, includes obstetrics and pediatrics. The sixth part of *Āyurveda* named *Agadatantra* deals in antidotes, and thus treats different kinds of diseases resulting from animal–bites, poisonous plants and minerals. *Rasāyanatantra*, the seventh limb, concerns the rejuvenation of *dhātu*-s, or essential ingredients of the body, such as blood, flesh, fat and bone, through the medicine supposed to prolong life and prevent ageing. Last but not least part of *Āyurveda* is named *Vājīkaraṇa* which can be literally translated as ‘making a horse of a non-horse’. The science of *Vajīkaraṇa* especially deals with the stimulation of potency among impotent men and excitement of amorous desires among men through the use of aphrodisiacs, though it comprises also the treatment of sterility of women.

Though the tradition of Ayurvedic education and practitioners of *Āyurveda* have remained, we have long since ceased to be innovative in this science. On the contrary, we have become instrumental in reducing it to almost a skeleton. Of the eight divisions of this science, Ayurvedic practitioners generally confine themselves to *Kāyacikitsā*, that is to medicine. The regrettable failure to check the deteriorating process emerging in Ayurvedic education has gradually rendered our *vaidya*–s incapable of practising even medicine in its perfect form. Gone are the days when *vaidya*-s followed the detailed traditional method of examining their patients. Now they merely feel the pulse and limit themselves to external examination of different parts of the body of the patient. These days they do not even bother to test urine, stool and other physial objects of their patients following Ayurvedic pathology, nor do they cure diseases following the different traditional methods, such as steaming the body of the patients, which once were key factors in the treatment of diseases.

Before the successful clinical use of antibiotic drugs, which became possible only in the 1940's, there was not much gap between the results achieved through the medical side of the rapidly developing Western system and that of the steadily deteriorating system of *Āyurveda*. Though the Western system of curing diseases was introduced in Nepal, to some extent, as early as the seventeenth century through the Capuchin missionaries and later through the British Residency, Nepalis did not resort to it for medical cases because they had much more faith in their own *vaidya*-s, who were competent enough to compete with European doctors medically. In this regard, the impression gained from the ruling class of Nepal by a Residency surgeon serving in Nepal from 1850 to 1863 is worth mentioning. He writes : "In medical cases, Jang says his own country doctors understand their treatment better than Europeans do. When he himself is indisposed he never consults me medically, but does invariably in everything surgical".[53]

Even in this most pitiable state of *Ayurveda* the world has ever seen, Ayurvedic medicines are considered preferable to Western medicines for certain diseases. Jaundice, for example, is effectively treated in Nepal through the Ayurvedic system, as is acidity. In this context, we should not forget to mention *Rasādi*, which is the medicinal preparation made out of minerals, including metals, which are then reduced to ashes. *Rasādi*–s used as *elixir vitae* are quite effective in rejuvenating people debilitated by a serious disease or accident.

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[53] HENRY AMBROSE OLDFIELD, *Sketches from Nipal*, vol. I (London: W. H. ALLEN and Co., 1880) p. 252.

There is no doubt that we could greatly benefit from the practice of *Āyurveda* in Nepal, if we could succeed in reviving its old traditions. What is needed is an exclusive system of Ayurvedic education going back to classical texts.

It is regrettable that though Nepal is rich in herbal property, she confines her efforts to exporting them at a cheap rate but at the same time is forced to import foreign medicines at a high price. Herbal medicines, known as *Kāṣṭhādi*, are widely used in the Ayurvedic system and thus occupy a distinct place in Ayurvedic pharmacology. Though we have a governmental laboratory with quite a long history of manufacturing Ayurvedic drugs, and though our forests yield a large quantity of herbs annually, we are not able to prevent the encroachment on Nepal of Ayurvedic herbal medicines manufactured in India. There is no doubt that we are able to manufacture as much herbal drugs as we can consume and even export them to India at a cheap price, if those herbal resources which we now only sell as raw material, were shrewdly and extensively converted by ourselves into drugs. For this, we only need to train people in the extensive field of Ayurvedic pharmacology which has developed over millennia.

Jyautiṣa is another important discipline of the Sanskrit "exact sciences" connected with the everyday life of millions of Nepalese people. We have our own system of chronometry to regulate our life cycle and religious festivals. To do this we have to prepare every year our own almanac describing chronometrical elements of each day, which is the outcome of traditional scholarship of our own *jyotiṣī*–s. You can get the measure of these *jyotiṣī*–s in the light of their prediction of an eclipse pinpointing the exact times for its start, duration, location and so on.

Though we are becoming less and less traditional, many Nepalis still need a *jyotiṣī* to cast a horoscope, recording the exact time of birth along with chronological particulars, and giving predictions about the baby's fortune in later life. The baby again needs a *jyotiṣī* when it is five or six months old to fix the auspicious moment when it should start taking solid food. Adults, moreover invariably require the *jyotiṣī*'s help in determining several auspicious moments for various rites connected with the sacred thread ceremony. He is most needed for fixing a series of moments with propitious omens for a succession of ceremonies linked with the wedding. The service of a *jyotiṣi* is essential to many Nepalis even after their death to fix dates for the ritual observance of death anniversaries. This is not all. His service extends to other events connected with the life cycle. For instance, we need him also to discern on our birthdays every year, the position of the planets, which we believe will influence our success or failure in life.

There are several types of astrology and divinition in Sanskrit and every branch of each of these sciences is so extensive that it takes several years to be acquainted with only one of them. *Jātaka*, *Pāśaka*, *Tājika*, *Sāmudrika*, *Praśna*, *Svapna*, *Pallīpatana*, *Muhūrta*, *Śakuna and Svara* are all separate sciences and this is to mention only a few of them. You can have an idea of how extensive they are if I mention that only in *Jātaka* or horoscopic astrology, we can find hundreds of texts published or still in manuscripts.

Needless to say, we can find scores of books in Sanskrit for interpreting dreams and omens, physiognomy and birthmarks, the shape or size of features and other things which we believe give tokens of an individual's fate. Our ancestors were no less interested than other peoples of the ancient world in foretelling the future, and produced a gigantic literature of futureology, which by our own negligence we will soon find incomprehensible.

It should be noted that *jyotiṣi*–s of these days prepare their almanacs solely depending on their own calculations, based on ancient texts composed a few hundred years back. It is well known that the motions of planets vary from time to time, though on a small scale. Now you can imagine that the almanacs based on older texts cannot exactly represent the positions of planets, on which we now base our chronometry. So it is advisable to compute an almanac taking into account all planetary motions. For this purpose, an observatory is needed to verify our compution against the motion of stars. Undoubtedly this can be done better through a modern observatory with Western–trained astronomers, sophisticated machines and a budget of some millions of rupees. Almost the same kind of result can be obtained by establishing an observatory of the traditional type with the help of our *jyotiṣī*–s, allocating only a small portion of money compared to what we would have to spend for its modern counterpart. Such an observatory does not need foreign–made expensive equipment. Our *jyotiṣī*–s are able to direct local smiths, carpenters and stone–cutters on how to make the equipment as described in their texts to observe the motion of heavenly bodies. This type of observatory could fulfil the dual function of an observatory and a meteorological station, if we also add the necessary apparatuses as described in the Sanskrit texts of *jyautiṣa* for weather forecasts. This kind of observatory, without parallel elsewhere, would also attract a larger number of tourists to Nepal thereby also boosting our tourist industry.

For all this, we need a band of *jyotiṣī*–s well–trained in each branch of the extensive science of *Jyautiṣa*, developed over thousands of years.

Next to *Jyautiṣa* in this context we should mention the science of *Dharmaśāstra*, which is as closely related to our daily life as *Jyautiśā*. We are all aware of the fact that before the introduction of the New civil law in Nepal in 1963, all the codifications of our civil law, that were enforced from time to time, were greatly influenced by different schools of *Dharmaśāstra*. At present we are no longer governed by *Dharmaśāstra* in our civil affairs, though all our religious laws and customs are still based on them. Though the *jyotiṣī*–s compute various particulars for recording dates, mainly used to regulate our numerous religious festivals, it is the *dharmaśāstrin*–s who add the flesh and bones to the nearly bare skeleton of an almanac fixing exact dates for these festivals. For these tasks, we need scholars of *Dharmaśāstra*, a science which over thousands of years, developed into several schools and branches.

Now I would like to mention another department of Sanskrit literature connected with our daily life. I hardly need mention that all the life cycle sacraments, rites and religious festivals of the majority of Nepalese people are performed through the medium of Sanskrit. Nepal, known as the home of the Gods, abounds in temples which still attract millions of devotees, both from inside and outside of the country. To perform well the domestic religious rites for millions of Nepalis and to do liturgical services in our temples, we need thousands of priests well versed in different kinds of *Karmakāṇda* both in theory and practice.

In this context, I should not forget to mention the Puranic lore which still has a hold on the mind of a large section of the population of Nepal. It is a common practice in so-called Hindu homes and in families of Vajrayanists to hire a pandit for a certain period of time to recite a *Purāṇa* in original Sanskrit and then to expound them orally to the family in a language, which they understand. Besides this we have a time-honoured custom of reciting and explaining the *Purāṇa* at well-known temples, places of pilgrimage and other public places. For that kind of services we need hundreds of *Paurāṇikas* possessing both a good command of Sanskrit and current languages, and a pleasing voice and oratory power.

The statements given above, will, I hope, convince you of the necessity of Sanskrit learning in order to continue our everyday lives in its different aspects, as well as of its importance from the viewpoint of its vocational aspects. Now I should like to explore the potentialities of Sanskrit learning which will, I think, prove even further its value both vocationally and as it relates to our daily lives.

In this context, I recall a speech delivered eleven years back by HIS LATE MAJESTY KING MAHENDRA BIR BIKRAM SHAH, in front of Sanskritists. How eloquently HIS LATE MAJESTY described in a few words, quoted below, how the potentialities of the "exact sciences" in Sanskrit would be useful even in these days:

"If we carry on, without bias or prejudice, our studies and researches on the works preserved in our libraries with an open mind and self-respect, taking the present circumstances into consideration, we shall again see one day that science is not the monopoly of the Western civilization alone. We also possess the best books on science which could greatly influence the sciences of biology, botany, medicine and chemistry. If the scientists do not have any knowledge of Sanskrit and the Sanskritists do not take any interest in science, we cannot now solve this problem. Hence, there should be a synthesis between the two. Only then can an atmosphere conducive to the researches be created"[54]

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[54] Address delivered in Dang on Caitra 1, 2024 V. S. (March 14, 1968). *Saṃskrta - viśva - vidyālayasya Prativedanam* [Report on a Sanskrit University] (Dang: Janatāmahāvidyālaya, V. S. 2026 (1969), pp. 29–30:

उदारता र आत्मगौरवका साथ समय सुहाउँदो गरी हामीले

Let me begin with the importance of Sanskrit in the field of architecture. There is no doubt that the Western science of architecture is making great strides unprecedented in history and that we are greatly benefitting from this knowledge. But maybe we should question whether, as a whole, it really suits our environment and our financial resources.

It is well known that the famous palace of Vasantapur in Kathmandu was built in 1769 at the instance of PRITHVI NARAYANA SHAH as a wing of the older palace of Hanuman Dhoka, the history of

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हाम्रा पुस्तकालयहरूमा भएका ग्रन्थहरूको अध्ययन र अनुसन्धान निष्पक्ष ढङ्गले गर्दै गयौं भने हामीले यो पनि फेरि एक दिन देखनेछौं कि विज्ञान पश्चिमी सभ्यताको मात्र पेवा होइन। हामीसंग पनि एकसेएक वैज्ञानिक ग्रन्थहरू छन्। जसबाट जीव–शास्त्र, वनस्पति–शास्त्र, आयुर्वेद र रसायनशास्त्रमा ठूलो असर पर्न सक्दछ। विज्ञानज्ञाताहरूलाई संस्कृतको ज्ञान भएन र संस्कृतज्ञहरूलाई विज्ञानमा अभिरुचि भएन भने अब हामीले यो समस्या हल गर्न सक्दैनौं र यी दुवैंको समन्वय हुनुपर्दछ। अनि मात्र शुद्ध अनुसन्धानको वातावरण बन्दछ…

which can be traced back over nearly five hundred years. There are old temples and palaces in large numbers in Nepal each with its own history of some centuries. These temples and courts are still standing and waiting for us to peel them "like an onion, as it were, layerwise, for studying the past of Nepal, making them thus veritable museums of the country's artistic heritage."[55]

Sometimes I ask myself how the monuments have been able to endure the vicissitudes of time, and in particular, the greatest earthquakes Nepal has ever seen. For instance, the Taleju Temple in Kathmandu built by MAHENDRA MALLA at Hanuman Dhoka complex in 1564 is still proudly standing in spite of the series of earthquakes which have shaken Kathmandu from time to time. We do not know the exact number of earthquakes of great significance that rocked the Kathmandu of post- 1564. But we do know that the Taleju Temple underwent at least two of the greatest earthquakes in Nepalese history, which hit Nepal violently within a period of two centuries, in 1833 and 1934. During the 1833 earthquake the almost three-hundred-year-old Taleju temple suffered no damage, and the earthquake that occurred a century later, could only slightly shake the Temple's golden pinnacle, whereas the newly-built palaces, hospitals, schools and the clock-tower, all of them erected along the lines of Western architecture, were either completely destroyed or suffered great damage.[56]

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[55] P. R. SHARMA, "Preface" to *An Introduction to the Hanuman Dhoka* (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asain studies, Tribhuvan University, 1975) p. VI.

Finding these few examples from our architectural history, I should like to raise my voice, however feeble and lone it may be at present, and request the nation to examine the salient features of our *Vāstuśāstra*, our science of architecture, which seems to me in many ways more suitable to our environment, than its Western rival.

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[56] BRAHMA SHUMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA, *Nepālako Mahābhūkampa* (1990 Sāla) [Nepal's Great Earthquake (1943)] (Kathmandu, 1991 [1945]), pp. 109–113, 184–187.

Owing to our fickle craze for modernization, often more fashion than a responsible decision, our traditional system of architecture is threatened by complete destruction. Even a few decades back we did not depend so much on imported building materials, almost totally neglecting the easily available indigenous construction materials, as we do now. These days most of us cannot even think of constructing a durable building without using cement and iron rods which are not easily accessible to us. But we can find in Kathmandu itself several hundred residential buildings made exclusively of indigenous materials, possessing a toughness which can clearly be seen in the fact that they have been fulfiling the residential needs of at least six or seven generations and are still functioning.

Although Nepal's vast heritage of historic buildings has been renowned all over the world for a long time, until now we took no positive action to save these structures from the gradual decay caused by the natural passage of time and under the unslaught of each successive monsoon. A few years back, realizing the architectural significance of some of them, we began to explore the means for their conservation. Seeing how conscious we have become of the importance of our own architectural heritage, friendly hands came forward to help us with projects for the restoration and conservation of the structures bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Thanks to their assistance, two major projects were selected for preserving two of the structures of great historical and architectural worth. Thus the restoration of the Pujari Math in Bhaktapur was completed in 1972 with the technical and financial aid provided by the Federal Republic of Germany. The other one – the conservation of one of the sections of the Vasantapur Palace in Kathmandu – was completed in 1974, under a project undertaken by UNESCO. Hopefully, more of such restoration works will be undertaken in the coming years, as we become more and more conscious of our architectural heritage. Of course, both the projects mentioned above were successfully implemented, after an initial investigation into the different indigenous systems of architecture according to which buildings had been built. But there is no doubt that these types of preservations could better represent the original structure of the buildings, if we laboriously glean the various texts on the traditional architecture, mainly in Sanskrït, either published or still in manuscript form.

We need a band of Sanskritists with inclinations for exploring the science of traditional architecture for two reasons. First, we require their services to help our architects, in understanding the traditional texts on architecture so that the architects can examine the salient features of the traditional architecture, which are the secrets of the durability of our old structures as well as applying those same features to our new constructions. The other reason is the need for the restoration of our historic monuments. They can assist our architects in restoring these old buildings to their original form, explaining the architects the traditional texts on architecture.

Having argued that the "exact sciences" in Sanskrit can prove extremely useful in our everyday lives, I would now like to refer to those sciences which have more academic worth.

It is a common practice in the modern Indo-Aryan languages to coin words needed by administration, education and almost every other phase of our national life to express new ideas of the present technical age, by depending on Sanskrit for the new formations. Though more than two decades ago, RAGHU VIRA, an Indian Sanskritist of international repute, with the help of a number of scholars of diverse disciplines, compiled a commendable work on a technical dictionary, which, I must add, is far from satisfactory. Its failure lies in its heavily artificial word–formations. Technical glossaries, in my opinion, can be made comprehensible and serviceable, if much trouble were applied to the exploration of different branches of Sanskrit literature in which we are very likely to find precisely those kinds of expressions, which can be adopted with only slight modifications for our purposes. To do this, we need a band of Sanskritists with lexicographical aptitude.

Needless to say, a knowledge of Sanskrit is essential for reconstructing Nepal's past because all documents -- except a few isolated references in Tibetan and Chinese sources-- prior to the thirteenth century, are exclusively in Sanskrit. Although, from the thirteenth century onwards we find increasing presence of modern languages in documents, Sanskrit still abounds in records until the eighteenth century. Thus we can safely conclude that a historian with an impeccable command of Sanskrit can do much justice to Nepali historiography. How Sanskritists can succeed in this field can be seen in the accomplishments of NAYA RAJ PANT and his disciples. The Sanskrit-educated can, therefore, play a really important role in reconstructing Nepal's history, if we could train them along these lines.

Sanskrit is not only indispensable for tracing the history of Nepal's languages of Aryan origin, but it is also an undeniably key factor for understanding the early records of some of Tibeto–Burman languages, such as Newari, because they are all strongly influenced by Sanskrit. We are, therefore, also in need of linguists with a sound knowledge of Sanskrit.

Besides this, Sanskrit education is required for understanding the evoultion and development of different social, religious, political and several other institutions of Nepal with quite long histories. For this, many people, trained in different disciplines with a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, are essential.

Nepal is renowned throughout the world for its unique collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. It is for this reason that Sanskritists from all parts of the world are attracted to this country. Alone in the National Archives of Nepal, formerly known as the Durbar or Bir Library, we have more than 25, 000 manuscripts and most of them ara in Sanskrit. Besides, the Kaiser Library has a fine collection of almost 800 manuscripts, the majority of them being Sanskrit texts. Furthermore, in private collections there are thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts, until now unnoticed. The German Oriental Society, in conjunction with the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, has been doing a laudable work for the past nine years for the cause of Sanskrit studies by microfilming manuscripts, in order to save them for posterity in the case of some calamity. It is worthwhile mentioning that this joint venture, entitled Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, has already microfilmed more than 60, 000 manuscripts from both Government and private collections, within the Bagmati Zone alone.

Thanks to the comparatively temperate climate of Nepal, which is very favourable for preserving manuscripts of the remotest antiquity, we possess not only a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, but also we are the inheritors of some of the oldest extant manuscripts of different Sanskrit texts. The oldest known manuscripts of the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*,[57] *Vālmīki–Rāmāyaṇa*[58] and *Mahābhārata*[59], to mention a few, are found in Nepal. We also possess a manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* which was copied in Kathmandu in 878[60]. Most probably, this is the oldest known manuscript of the said text. The manuscript differing greatly from the readings[61] of latter copies, can help us to constitute a critical edition of the text. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* also came from Nepal, although now it is deposited in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.[62]

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[57] MICHAEL WITZEL, "On the History and the Present State of Vedic Tradition in Nepal," *Vasudha*, vol. XV, no. 12 (1976, hereinafter to be cited as WITZEL), p. 20.

[58] D. R. MANKAD, "Introduction" to *The Vālmīki–Rāmāyaṇa Critically Edited for the First Time*, vol. IV (Baroda: Oriental Research Institute, 1965), p. XI.

[59] VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, "Prolegomena" to *the Māhābhārata for the First Time Critically Edited*, vol. I (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933), pp. VIII, XIII–XIV, CVIII.

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[60] DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, *Licchavikālako Abhilekha* [Documents of the Licchavi Period] (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, V. S. 2030 (1973), p. 599.

[61] MAHES RAJ PANT, "*Vedāṅgajyautiṣa*ko Kālamānako *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* ra *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*mā Pareko Prabhāva [The Influence of the Chronometry of the *Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*]," *Pūrṇimā*, 9 (V. S. 2032–2034 (1975- 1977), pp. 153–154.

[62] KAREL RIZK VAN KOOIJ, *Worship of the*

Now it should be realized that we possess not only one of the largest collections of Sanskrit manuscripts and scores of earliest known manuscripts of diverse types of Sanskrit texts, but also Sanskrit texts, which were considered completely lost, at least in the original, until a few diligent Sanskritists discovered them in Nepal. AŚVAGHOṢA's epic poems, for example, were discovered in Nepal thus making us aware of the development of the *Mahākāvya* form.

In this respect I should not forget to mention that we have also the manuscripts of texts of which Sanskritists barely knew more than the titles, and some quotations of which were found in other texts. For instance, JĀTARUPA's commentary on the well-known Sanskrit lexicon by AMARASIMHA was until now known only from excerpts of the text given in some lexicographical and grammatical works.[63]

Goddess According to the Kālikāpurāṇa, pt. I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 3.

[63] K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, *New Catalogues*

Three years ago, when I was preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts of the Kaiser Library for the Nepal – German Manuscript Preservation Project, I luckily discovered an unnoticed manuscript, the commentary of JĀTARUPA on the *Amarakośa*, which until now had been considered lost. Subsequently, we published its colophon, which was important in terms of the political history of the period.[64]

Catalogorum, vol. VII (Madras: University of Madras, 1973), p. 231.

[64] MAHES RAJ PANT and AISHVARYA DHAR SHARMA, *The Two Earliest Copper – plate Inscriptions from Nepal* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1977), p. 9.

I would like to make it known to the Indological world that JĀTARUPA's commentary on the *Amarakośa*, being edited by myself under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, is expected to be published in the monograph series of the Nepal Research Centre by the end of 1980.

Sanskrit manuscripts of Nepal, with their unique antiquity, can help us to constitute critical editions of different texts. Take, for example, the case of the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* which took some five decades to be completed under the guidance of Sanskrit scholars of international repute. Even this scholarly edition may require some revision on the basis of the recently discovered Nepalese manuscripts[65] which are even older than the earliest dated manuscript used in that edition (which was also from Nepal), not to speak of other so-called critical editions of different *Purāṇa*-s which were prepared without any reference to early Nepalese manuscripts.

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[65] LUCIANO PETECH, *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750 – 1480)* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 136, MSS. nos. 22 and 23.

DHANABAJRA BAJRACHARYA, "Śaktiśālī Bhārādāra Rāmavarddhanaharū ra Tātkālika Nepāla [The Powerful Rāmavarddhana Nobles and Contemporary Nepal]," *Pūrṇimā*, vol. 2, no. 3. (V. S. 2022 [1965]), pp. 28–29.

Let me add a few examples here to illustrate how Nepalese manuscripts can be of great help in tracing lost passages from the well-known classics or epitomes of standard works already lost to us.

All we know is that all the copies of the *Saṃkhyakārikā*-s, now available, agree on a total of 72 verses, and the last three verses state only the line of succession of teacher and pupil, so that the doctrinal part of the text comprises 69 verses. But, as the verse 72 tells us, there are 70 verses in the text. This discrepancy was noticed by HORACE HEYMAN WILSON as early as 1837, when he published these *Kārikā*-s together with a translation of GAUDAPĀDA's *Bhāṣya* and notes thereon. We are also aware of the fact that the *Kārikā*-s are known collectively as *Āryāsaptati* or *Sāṅkhyasaptati* in Sanskrit and are entitled *The Gold-seventy* in the Chinese translation, Now it is clear that the doctrinal part of the *Kārikā*–s was described in 70 verses, and that we were certainly lacking one verse.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, in 1915, contributed a scholarly article on this problem. He reconstructed and restored the missing verse, basing himself on some words of GAUDAPĀDA's *Bhāṣya* upon the sixty–first *Kārikā*. The verse reconstructed by him runs as follows:

कारणमीश्वरमेके पुरुषं कालं परे स्वभावं वा ।
प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥[66]

There is a palm–leaf manuscript of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*–s (MS. no. 533) in the Kaiser Library which contains, unlike other

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66. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, "A Missing Verse in the Sankhya Karikas," *Sanskrit Research*, vol. I, no. 2. (1915). This essay is later incorporated in BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, *Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotisha* (Poona: Messrs Tilak Bros., 1925), pp. 105–121.

copies, full seventy–three verses. As in other copies, the last three deal with the line of succession of teacher and pupil. The other ones or the 70 verses are the doctrinal part of the text. Thus it can be proved that the nomenclatures *Āryāsaptati*, *Sāṅkhyasaptati* or *The Gold–seventy* were true to the sense. This verse, which is between the verses 27 and 28 (of the standard editions), is given in the manuscript as follows:

> संकल्पकमचमनः [sic] तच्चेद्रियमुभयथा समाख्यातम् ।
> अन्तस्त्रिकालविषयं तस्मादुभयप्रचारन्तु ॥

It is well known to students of history of Indian astronomy that the *Sūryasiddhaānta*, which has come down to us, is different from the *Sūryasiddhānta* summarized by VARĀHAMIHIRA for his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. In the prefatory verses of the *Khaṇdakhādyaka*, BRAHMAGUPTA expressly tells us that he based himself on a treatise by ĀRYABHATA for preparing the *Khaṇdakhādyaka*. Researchers in this field have already proved that *Khaṇdakhādyaka* differs considerably from the doctrines professed by ĀRYABHATA in his only known text – *Āryabhaṭīya*. It is thus clear that ĀRYABHAṬA's work, on which the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* is based, is the work which is lost to us, and is clearly different from the *Āryabhaṭīya* which is now available. The *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* comes to the same conclusions as VARĀHAMIHIRA, in the *Sūryasiddhānta* section of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. ŚATĀNANDA begins his *Bhāsvatī* with a statement informing us that his work is similar to the *Sūryariddhānta*, and follows the instructions of VARĀHAMIHIRA. In other words, the *Bhāsvatī* is based on the *Sūryasiddhānta* section of the *Pañcasiddhāntika*, as the author tells us. Researchers prove that the *Bhāsvatī* is based on *Sūryasiddhānta* section of *Pañcasiddhān*kā, and this confirms what ŚATĀNANDA says.

To sum up, ĀRYABHATA's lost work, the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, *Sūryasiddhānta* section of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and *Bhāsvatī* are based on another *Sūryasiddhānta*, which is different from the present one. Students of history of Indian astronomy are indeed aware of the fact that alone, the *Sūryasiddhānta* section of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* in its present form, is less than sufficient to represent the *Sūryasiddhānta*, which is lost to us. This problem of Indian astronomy can be partially solved if we scan a Nepalese text named *Sumatitantra*. Like ghee from curd, the *Sumatitantra* is the extraction of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, as the text says. The statement is true, and we can make much more satisfactory picture of the lost *Sūryasiddhānta* making the *Sūryasiddhānta* section of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and *Sumatitantra* complementary to one another. This, NAYA RAJ PANT, in collaboration with two of his disciples, has proved in his *editio–prinsep* of the *Sumatitantra*.[67]

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[67] NAYA RAJ PANT, "Prastāvan [Preface]," pp. 2–12 to NAYA RAJ PANT *et al.* ed. *Sumatitantram* [The Sumatitantra], vol. I (Kathmandu: Curriculum Development Centre, Tribhuvan Untversity, 1978).
NAYA RAJ PANT *et al.*, "*Sumatitantra*ko Ādhāragrantha [The Source of the *Sumatitantra*], *Pūrnimā*, XI (V. S. 2035 [1979]), pp. 1–19.

From the few examples cited above, it can only be recognized that Sanskrit manuscripts of Nepal, if properly studied, can greatly further the cause of Sanskrit studies solving many a knotty problem of Sanskrit literature. I am sure that through our unique heritage of manuscripts, the volume of every part of the biggest alphabetical register of Sanskrit works, known as the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, could considerably be increased.

In spite of the unique wealth of Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal, our own contribution in the field of editing them is extremely insignificant. Though HEMRAJ SHARMA initiated this kind of work in Nepal by publishing a hitherto unpublished work of the *Kaumārabhṛtya* section of *Āyurveda* in 1938, no other noteworthy attempt in this field was made in pre-democratic Nepal. Following the advent of

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NAYA RAJ PANT has described at length this problem of Indian astronomy in his *Introduction* to the second volume of the *Sumatitantra* (still unpublished).

democracy in 1951, a few Nepali scholars paid attention to this direction and began to publish previously unpublished Sanskrit texts. YOGI NARAHARINATH is the foremost Nepali scholar who published different Sanskrit texts hitherto unknown or unpublished. Next to him, one should mention the pandits under the Department of Archaeology who published master catalogues of manuscripts deposited in the National Archives subject by subject, in replacement of the scholarly catalogue prepared by HARA PRASAD SASTRI more than half a century ago. In addition, the pandits published some of the Sanskrit texts hitherto unpublished. One should not forget to mention in this context NAYA RAJ PANT and his disciples, who have published editions of some Sanskrit texts which had so far remained unpublished.[68]

Of course, we should not be content with

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68. For the Nepalese scholars' contribution to the editing of Sanskrit manuscripts, see Appendix.

these sporadic achievements made by a handful of Nepalese Sanskritists in the face of magnificent opportunities open to us through the presence of precious manuscripts in Nepal. In order to conduct researches on these manuscripts, we need scholars steeped in different branches of Sanskrit learning and having a critical approach. We must prepare a section of Sanskrit students for this kind of work. It will undoubtedly acquire worldwide reputation for the Sanskritists of Nepal.

Last but not least, for every department of Sanskrit learning we need scores of Sanskritists who can maintain the long tradition af Sanskrit scholarship with their profound knowledge of their own subject. Nepal,on e of the two inheritors of this shastric tradition, cannot ignore this aspect of Sanskrit learning which is already threatened by modernization. To conclude, by maintaining this type of learning by all possible means, we will show our prudence and by rejecting it we will show our extreme shortsight for which posterity will, no doubt, curse those of us who ignored great knowledge preserved from generation to generation for thousands of years.

WHAT TYPE OF SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN NEPAL ?

By now, I hope that my essay has made you fully aware of the great importance of Sanskrit literature, and that I have persuaded you how necessary Sanskrit education is in Nepal for the fulfilment of different kinds of needs occurring in our daily as well as academic lives. It is also now well known to you that to fulfil these needs of the nation we have access to two methods of Sanskrit education, namely, the traditional and the Western. Now you may question whether both these methods are essential for what we need from Sanskrit education, or whether only one method is more than enough for the fulfilment of our national needs. The answer to this problem is not as easy as you may think. From my description of both methods given already in this essay you are now aware, I hope, of the separate needs which can be met through these two quite different methods. The main difference, as I see it, is that education through the traditional method encourages a view of Sanskrit learning as part and parcel of one's life, whilst training in the Western method takes Sanskrit learning no more than a bequest of the classical world. In other words, the former aims at furtherance of Sanskrit learning in the traditional way, whereas the latter seeks a critical analysis of it. The former aims at maintaining the Sanskrit civilization, while the latter studies it as a museum exhibit. The former lays stress on learning the Vedas by rote, whereas the latter emphasizes the critical analysis of the Vedic recitations made by the Brahmins of different parts of this subcontinent. The former produces a *vaidya* to cure illnesses, whilst the latter produces a historian to trace the history of Āyurveda. To conclude, the traditional method emphasizes creative scholarship, whereas the Western method lays stress on critical scholarship.

Now it will be quite clear to you that the two methods of studying Sanskrit aim at achieving quite different ends. And as I explained previously, in the present context of Nepal both kinds of achievement are necessary. We need a *vaidya* to cure our diseases; we also require a historian of *Āyurveda* to chronicle our achievements and failures in this field. We need a priest to conduct our religious duties; we also require a critical scholar to interpret to us the origin and development of our religion, We want a Sanskrit poet capable of composing poems in the tradition of classical poets; at the same time we also need a historian who could trace the accurate history of Sanskrit *belles–lettres.* We need a *jyotiṣī* to prepare an almanac for us now; at the same time we want a scholar who can tell us what our ancestors achieved in this field. We need a *vaidika* to recite the Veda in traditional way, which "has got a better tradition than any classical text of Greco-Roman antiquity or, for that matter, the holy texts of Christian or Jewish religion".[69] we also require a Vedic scholar who can prove himself a far better commentator than SĀYANA endeavouring "to take the road which is prescribed by philology".[70]

From this short list, of examples of what both methods can serve, does not it seem advisable to retain both of them in Nepal ?

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[69] WITZEL, p. 37.

[70] RUDOLPH VON ROTH in "Preface" to OTTO VON BOHTLINGK and RUDOLPH VON ROTH, *Sanskrit – Worterbuch* [Sanskrit Dictionary], vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften, 1852), p. v. English translation from THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER, *Panini: His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, 1st Indian ed. (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1965), p. 266.

If this is agreed then some active measures have to be taken. As I have stated earlier; the traditional method is now reduced to a moribund state, while the Western method has never gained ground in Nepal. In this deplorable state, of course, Sanskrit learning could hardly fulfil even a part of those national needs I have mentioned above. Therefore, we have to find a way to improve the standard of Sanskrit education in Nepal.

One solution lies in a vigorous attempt to return to the traditional method of learning Sanskrit. Ignoring this method to have a deep penetration into abstruse Śā*stra*–s seems to be impossible. As I said before, fundamental texts of diverse Sanskrit sciences are severely abbreviated, mainly for the sole reason of lessening the burden on students who have to commit them to memory word for word. Without learning the texts by rote it is impossible to have a deep knowledge of śā*stra*–s for which the world admires the traditional method. It is a great pity that this salient feature of the traditional method is now completely neglected by us. Students would therefore have to learn these texts by committing them to memory word for word. As stated earlier, there are standard and at the same time voluminous commentaries on the cryptic texts, written by outstanding scholars, which are also to be mastered by students. Regrettably, as I said before, they are increasingly replaced by substandard Hindi commentaries. To avert this pitiable condition, we should reintroduce the study of scholarly *ṭīkā*–s in our curriculum in place of substandard commentaries. Another way of increasing the standard of Sanskrit education would be to return to the traditional stress on a positive command of the Sanskrit language. In other words, every student should have a good grounding in Sanskrit as a precondition for the study of *śāstra*-s. Yet without a positive command of Sanskrit how can any student be expected to grasp the intended meanings of *śāstra*–s, composed by scholars with high linguistic expertise?

It may be interesting to note that Western

Sanskritists of considerable calibre have realized the great importance of the traditional method for a clear and full understanding of the *śāstra*–s and they regret its gradual deterioration caused by modernization. FRANZ KIELHORN, a noted German Sanskritist, for example, pays a tribute to this method and laments its deterioration in the following words:

"I cannot leave this subject without adding a few remarks on the state of Sanskrit learning in the parts of which I have visited on my tour. Though I have endeavoured to become acquainted with all those Śastris who were mentioned to me with praise of their learning, I regret to state that I have found only few really good scholars. Most of the men with whom I conversed on various branches of their ancient literature had only a slight knowledge of the subjects which they professed to know. The race of the old profound scholars is evidently dying out fast. I will not here discuss the causes which have brought about this state of things, nor will I dwell on the advantages which this country is sure to derive eventually from the European method of studying Sanskrit; but I venture to maintain that no unprejudiced scholar can anticipate without a feeling of deep regret, and without serious apprehension, the days when the class of the old Śastris will be extinct. The philosophical literature of India comprises many difficult works, written on a method which requires not only that they should be read, but that their concise sentences should be explained by a full oral instruction. Many of these works, although accompanied by numbers of written commentaries, are almost unintelligible without the help of the tradition embodied in, and kept up by, the Śastris. But this tradition being merely oral, is likely to die with the generation".[71]

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71. Letter from F. KIELHORN, Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, to J. B. PEILE, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay-dated Deccan College, Poona, the 20th June 1869. ARCHIBALD EDWARD GOUGH, ed. *Ancient Sanskrit Literature in*

Now I turn to the Western method of learning Sanskrit which has so far failed to find a secure place in Nepal. Failure of the Western method lies behind "the poverty of intellect in Nepal"[72] with which we are sticken long since. Fundamentally we Nepalese are "unlearned" people, as Yuan Chwāng, a seventh century Chinese scholar observed.[73] The so-called tradi-

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India, *Papers Relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records* (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1878), p. 55.

72. Kamal P. Malla, "The Intellectual in Nepalese Society" in Pashupati Sumshere J. B. Rana and Kamal P. Malla, ed. *Nepal in Perspective* (Kathmandu: Centre for Economic Development and Administration, 1973), p. 263.

73. Samuel Beal, trans. *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II (Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969 [Photo reprint of the Original edition published in 1884]), p. 80.

tional method is anyhow surviving here on the strength of stipends liberally provided by the god-fearing Hindu government of Nepal. The Western method fails to attract us because there are no comparatively bright monetary prospects as is in other disciplines introduced by the West. I have previously argued that this method is indispensable for the contribution to Sanskrit studies through the critical, comparative and historical way of inquiry. Thus it is quite clear that we cannot ignore this method if we want to assess the achievements and failures of our ancestors who built one of the greatest civilizations of the world. However, the question remains whether we should adopt the Western method or whether we should adapt it to our conditions and requirements, so as to obtain better results from the critical, comparative and historical method of Sanskrit studies. Without a clear view of the Western method as a whole, we cannot answer the question of whether 'to adopt or adapt' the Western method in Nepal.

FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER, one of the widely known Western Sanskritists of the last century, had perceived the limitations of the Western method for profound command of Śāstra–s and was always ready to co-operate with pandits in solving knotty problems arising in the course of writing. Let me quote here a passage from his Preface to the second edition of his *Sanskrit Grammar* published in 1870:

"The principal alterations in the new edition of my Sanskrit grammar consist in a number of additional references to Pāṇini, in all cases where an appeal to his authority seemed likely to be useful, and in the introduction of the marks of the accent. I have also been able to remove a number of mistakes and misprints which, in spite of all the care I had taken, had been overlooked in the first edition. Most of these I had corrected in the German translation of my grammar, published at Leipzig in 1868; some more have now been corrected. I feel most grateful to several of my reviewers for having pointed out these oversights, and most of all to Pandit Rajaramaśastri, whose list of notes and queries to my grammar has been of the greatest value to me. It seems almost hopeless for a European scholar to acquire that familiarity with the intricate system of Pāṇini which the Pandits of the old school in India still possess; and although some of their refinements in the interpretation of Paṇini's rules may seem too subtle, yet there can be no doubt that these living guides are invaluable to us in exploring the gigantic labyrinth of ancient Sanskṛit grammar.[74]

"Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit," to quote R. G. BHANDARKAR, "the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the various problems suggested by it".[75] In the words of the same scholar, "though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination".[76]

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[74] F. MAX MULLER, *A Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners in Devanagari and Roman Letters Throughout* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1977 [Photo reprint of the second edition published in 1870], p. xiii.

This remark at European scholarship of Sanskrit studies is not from an ordinary scholar in this field but from a venerable father figure of Sanskrit studies in the modern approach in India, who has received great acclaim "as a rare combination of the traditional as well as Western method of

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[75] NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR and VASUDEV GOPAL PARANJPE, ed. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. I (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933, hereinafter to be cited as BHANDARKAR), p. 347.

[76] *Op. cit.*, p. 349.

Sanskrit studies".[77]

As to Western Sanskritists' positive command over Sanskrit, it seems to me worth-quoting here what this man of erudition told his friends little more than nine decades ago, while he described to them his visit to the Vienna Oriental Congress:

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[77] "Dedicatory Verses" in N. S. SONTAKKE *et al.*, ed. *Rgveda–samhitā with the Commentary of Sāyanāchārya*, vol. III (Poona: Vaidika Samshodhana Maṇdala, 1941):

तीर्णो येन महात्मनाऽतिगहनः शाब्दादिशास्त्रार्णवः
साहित्यं कलयांचकार सकलं यो लीलयाऽनल्पधीः ।
यो भाण्डारकराख्यवंशतिलको गोपालसूनुः कृती
सोऽयं राजति भूबृहस्पतिरिव श्रीरामकृष्णाभिधः॥१॥
कामं सन्तु सहस्रशः कृतधियो विद्वद्वरा भूतले
नैकत्रोभयविद्ययोर्निवसनं पौरस्त्यपाश्चात्त्ययोः।
एतस्मिन्समगच्छदेतदुभयं पूर्णप्रबोधान्वितं
येनासौ धवलीचकार भुवनं ज्ञानप्रदीपत्विषा॥२॥
ग्रन्था यस्य विभान्ति भूरिविषया विद्वन्मनोग्राहिणो
यौरोपीयविपश्चितोऽपि मुदिता यानस्तुवन्सादरम् ।
वाग्देव्याः समुपासनं बहुविधं तस्याश्च संवर्धनं
यावज्जन्म समाचरत्सुबहुलैर्यत्नैः सदा तन्मनाः ॥३॥

"As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anuṣṭubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse."[78]

This is just an illustration, not an isolated instance. It is not difficult to find out grammatical inaccuracies or violation of metre or immature diction amongst even Western Sanskrists of international repute, who use Sanskrit occasionally in dedicatory lines or in concluding sentences of their works, or who address their pandit friends in Sanskrit. Same kind of weakness can be seen even in native Sanskritists who have trained themselves exclusively through the Western method.

The cause of the lack of positive command over Sanskrit can, I think, be traced back

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78. BHANDARKAR, p. 350.

to the Western Sanskritists' passive approach to language. FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER has expressly stated this approach in his letter to a Nepali pandit in the words quoted below:

"Accept my best thanks for your Nāṭakas, *Sundaracarita* and *Kuśalavodaya*, the *Vrttālaṅkāra* and the Sanskrit verses addressed to me. ... I am susprised at your familiarity with Sanskrit. We, in Europe, shall never be able to rival you in that. We have to read but never to write Sanskrit. To you it seems as easy as English or Latin is to us. You see, we chiefly want to know what India is and has been. We care for its literature, its philosophy, etc. and that takes up so much time, that we never think of practising composition, that we can admire all the more, because we cannot rival, and I certainly was filled with admiration when I read but a few pages of your *Sundaracarita*."[79]

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[79] Letter from FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER to CHHABILAL SURI, dated Oxford, 28th

Owing to their passive approach to Sanskrit, those scholars trained themselves in the Western method could not have the kind of positive command of Sanskrit

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September, 1898. NAYA RAJ PANT, "*Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* ra Licchavi-kālagaṇanā [*The Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* and the Licchavi Chronology]", *Pūrṇimā*, IX (V S. 2032–2034 [1975–1977]) pp. 89–90.

Interestingly enough, CHHABILAL SURI, the Nepali Pandit, whose familiarity with Sanskrit made MAX MULLER quite surprised, was regarded as a pandit of mediocrity in contemporary Nepal (*op. cit*. p. 89). Furthermore, grammatical mistakes are not a rare phenomenon in Suri's *Sundaracarita* (NAYA RAJ PANT, "Saradāra Paṇḍita Chavilāla Dhuṅgelako *Sundaracarita Nāṭaka*mā Parekā Vyākaraṇa-viṣayakā Kehī Aśuddhiko Saṃśodhana [Correction of Some of the Grammatical Errors Crept in *Sundaracaritanāṭaka* of Sirdar Pandit Chhavilal Dhungel]", *Pūrṇimā*, IX, pp. 128–135), and even then MAX MULLER says he was "filled with admiration" while reading it.

which can be found in the pandit community.

The Western method aims at critical inquiries into the Indian civilization from comparative, analytical and historical perspectives. It is not concerned with ensuring the continuation of the Indian civilization, as is the case with the traditional method. Therefore, as some thinkers say, positive command over Sanskrit is not necessary for the Sanskritists following the Western line, as is undeniably the case with those adhering to the traditional method. Of course, we do not expect compositions in Sanskrit from Sanskritists trained in the Western method, whereas we expect them from pandits. None the less we expect from Sanskritists trained in the Western line to have a clear understanding of Sanskrit works composed in different periods, in different styles and with different motives. This, however, is not always achieved, as we can see from a conversation between the two doyens of Sanskrit studies, namely, FRANZ KIELHORN and R. G. BHANDARKAR, which the latter has recorded in the following words:

"But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or purāṇic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while, those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays and works on poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the *Śāstras*, as we call them; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either".[80]

From the quotation given above, it is clear that Sanskritists of international repute have perceived the limitations of an approach which lacks positive command over Sanskrit and that it necessarily affects a critical, comparative and historical way of inquiry into the Indian civilization.

This weakness of European Sanskrit scholarship, however, can also be seen even in the works of native Sanskritists in the Western line, in spite of rich opportunities open to them to take advantages of traditional scholarship. A recent example of this can be found in S. M. KATRE's *Dictionary of Pāṇini* published in three parts in Poona from 1968 to 1969.

This type of defect cannot be removed unless the Western-educated spend some years studying with pandits of high calibre. R. G.

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[80] BHANDARKAR, p. 350.

BHANDARKAR aptly described this fact in the following words some ninety years ago: "If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from old pandits of India."[81] As we have seen, Sanskritists in the Western line have made much progress in their respective fields, on the strength of some acquaintance with traditional learning. It was German Sanskritists who first of all clearly perceived this defect and who took steps to remedy it, as BHANDARKAR tells us.[82]

In spite of the failure of most of the Western Sanskritists in terms of a firm command of the Sanskrit language, they have a distinct advantage over native Sanskritists in terms of their good grounding in the classical languages of Europe, of which the native Sanskritists necessarily have not the slightest knowledge. Armed with knowledge of European classical languages, Western Sanskritists have made tremendous progress in some fields of Sanskrit studies such as comparative philology. Compared to the Western Sanskritists, the majority of native Sanskrit scholars, even in the Western line, know no European language, except English.

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[81] *op. cit.*, p. 350

[82] *op. cit.*, pp. 350–351.

The other advantage of the Western Sanskritists over native Sanskrit scholars can be seen in the formers' khowledge of different modern languages that produce Sanskrit studies abundantly. It is not only in modern European languages that Sanskrit studies proliferate; some of the modern languages of Asia as well are producing considerable research works in Sanskrit studies. For instance, the Japanese have produced undeniably important works in their own language which are indispensable for anyone researching in Buddhistic studies. Although it is quite clear that a lack of knowledge of different research languages can hamper our critical, comparative and historical method of inquiry into Sanskrit literature, it would be futile to expect for every Sanskritist to be fluent in all languages. We obviously have to be discriminating and careful in our selection of those languages which can best contribute to our respective field of Sanskrit learning.

On the whole, I must conclude that learning Sanskrit is not difficult for us, as it is for our Western counterparts. Sanskrit is the vehicle of our culture and the mother tongues of most of us are connected with Sanskrit in one way or another. Our Western friends, on the other hand, come from a culture totally different from ours and Sanskrit is a completely foreign language for them. They necessarily do not even know the Sanskrit script at the time when they decide to become Sanskritists which is usually at the university stage. Within a period of seven years or so, they have to learn everything in Sanskrit beginning with the Sanskrit script and ending with a doctoral dissertation. Even during the period in which they are majoring in Sanskrit studies, they have to devote their time to other subsidiary subjects which undoubtedly contribute to their comprehensive scholarship.

In contrast, we can start Sanskrit at an early age. And it is during those first formative years that any language, let alone one close to our thought and tongue, can be learnt with extreme proficiency. We should take advantage of this and learn as much Sanskrit as possible from an early age, thereby averting the inevitable weakness of the Western Sanskritists derived from cultural gap. What we can learn from Westerners, however, should not be ignored. We should derive from them to achieve broad knowledge, critical outlook, research methodology and dexterity to handle different languages as research tools.

It seems to me that we should have an integrated system of Sanskrit learning, taking the best from both the traditional and the Western, for obtaining better results in the critical, comparative and historical way of inquiry into Sanskrit literature. In other words, to explore our great heritage we should learn Sanskrit in the traditional way, and to look critically into our own civilization we should train our faculties in the Western way. With traditional grounding in the language and *śāstra*–s, we can contribute more satisfactorily towards the interpretation of Sanskrit literature, if we combine this with the critical outlook developed in the Western academic world. AGEHĀNANDA BHĀRATI has finely perceived this possibility in the words quoted below: "The pandit with his tough-headed fundamentalism would indeed be the ideal scholar could he combine it with a critical approach to its subject matter."[83]

Finally, it would not be entirely out of place if I add a few words about the kind of syncretic activity that has already begun to some extent in Nepal. NAYA RAJ PANT, in the early 1940s, established a *Pāṭhaśālā* to produce scholars of syncretic nature. It is true that owing to limited resources he was forced to restrict his activity to a study of Nepalese antiquities. Nevertheless, he was able to produce a few erudite Sanskrit scholars with high scholarship in Nepalese history who have already won the foremost place in Nepalese historiography. This noble effort, though yielding good results, does not attract more followers, because most of us do not possess the necessary intellectual qualifications to understand him.

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[83] AGEHĀNANDA BHĀRATI, *A Functional Analysis of Indian Thought and Its Social Margins* (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1974) p. 14.

APPENDIX

A Bibliography of Sanskrit Manuscripts Edited by Nepali Scholars

This *nearly* complete bibliography, for practical reasons, excludes the texts which had been published in periodicals and which had been incorporated in volumes of different categories.

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